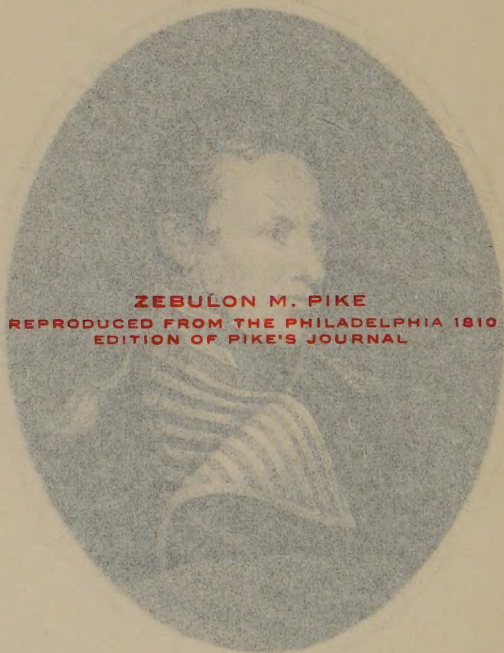


The Southwestern Expedition
of
Zebulon M. Pike



ZEBULON M. PIKE
REPRODUCED FROM THE PHILADELPHIA 1810
EDITION OF PIKE'S JOURNAL

Sketch by

Z. M. Pike

The Lakeside Classics

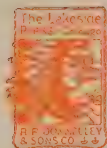
The Southwestern Expedition of Zebulon M. Pike

EDITED BY

MILO MILTON QUAIFE

SECRETARY AND EDITOR OF
THE BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

WITH FRONTISPIECE AND MAP



The Lakeside Press, Chicago
R. R. DONNELLEY & SONS COMPANY
CHRISTMAS, MCMXXV

Publishers' Preface

A SERIES of volumes covering, even in a desultory fashion, the early history of our frontiers could not omit the story of Lieutenant Pike's expedition out into what has now become the State of Colorado.

The purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 from France was a good deal like the buying of a pig in a poke, and President Jefferson was naturally interested in gaining accurate information concerning the character of the new country and establishing sovereignty over its Indian tribes. Accordingly, in 1804, Lewis and Clark were sent to explore the head waters of the Missouri and find a route to the Pacific. The next year Lieutenant Pike, then only twenty-six years old, was sent to explore the head waters of the Mississippi, which he performed so satisfactorily that the following summer he was ordered on his famous expedition to discover the head waters of the Red and Arkansas Rivers, the story of which is contained in that part of his journal printed herein. The first portion of the journal treating of his Mississippi trip has been omitted for the reason that in the minds of the publishers it contains little of historic or human interest.

Publishers' Preface

Pike's expedition to the Rockies blazed the trail which afterwards became one of the highways for the trains of early emigrants and the "forty-niners." The Federal Government has ever been tardy in rewarding signal service on the part of its soldiers, and Pike's heroic followers never received the recognition recommended by their commander. Pike's personal recompense consisted only in the naming for him the peak which he first reported and which has since become one of the great landmarks to the travelers in our western domain.

Pike was no literary genius. He did not have the knack of turning his experiences into tales of dramatic thrill. Yet his simple telling of the pluck, perseverance, and suffering endured by his party day after day makes one feel that one is adventuring with a man of courage, resource, and leadership.

The publishers feel that it is a book well worth the reading of any American, and with the hope that it will furnish a few interesting hours to their friends and patrons they send forth this little volume with the Season's greetings.

THE PUBLISHERS.

Christmas, 1925.

Contents

	PAGE
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION	ix
PART I	3
PART II	127
INDEX	229

Historical Introduction

Historical Introduction

ZEBULON PIKE'S narrative of his southwestern exploration conducted in the years 1806-1807 is one of the great chronicles of American pioneering achievement. In order to appreciate it properly the reader must make some endeavor to orient himself in the situation of the United States at the time the enterprise was undertaken.

The continent of North America was chiefly colonized by three European nations, England, France, and Spain, between which, for generations, a spirit of intense rivalry existed. By a series of wars ending in 1763 England practically expelled France from the continent, whose future destiny rested thenceforth with England and Spain. There followed, within the space of a dozen years, the war of the American Revolution, which signalized the birth of the United States as an independent power, with a domain extending from Spanish Florida to Canada and from the Atlantic Ocean westward to the Mississippi. To the south and west of the American domain lay the possessions of Spain. Although the royal power of Spain was fast declining, the progress of this decline was not so evident to the observer of a century and a quarter ago as it is now to the eye of the

Historical Introduction

historian; and to the new American nation the power of the decaying empire still seemed formidable enough.

On a superficial view it might be supposed that there was ample room in the North American continent for the few million Americans and the few hundred thousand Spaniards to dwell in peace and harmony; but the government of Spain was an Old-World tyranny, at least in American eyes, and between the ideals of her governing class and those entertained by the citizens of the new-born democracy of the western World lay a wide gulf. Americans chafed at the Spanish control of the mouth of the Mississippi, and there were other grounds for grievance and friction between the two countries.

Such, briefly sketched, was the situation when in 1800 Spain secretly ceded Spanish Louisiana to France. This included the western half of the vast territory of French Louisiana, whose foundation had been laid by La Salle and his successors in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. But France's renaissance as a continental American power proved of but short duration. In 1803 Napoleon, faced with the prospect of losing Louisiana to England, made a virtue of necessity and sold it to the United States.

The acquisition was easily the greatest achievement of Thomas Jefferson's presidential career. That ruler was a man of pro-

Historical Introduction

nounced scientific taste. Louisiana was almost wholly a virgin wilderness, whose boundaries and geography were alike unknown to the American government and people. Soon after the purchase, therefore, Jefferson promoted the Lewis and Clark exploring expedition, which in the years 1804-1806 traversed the continent from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean and accumulated a great fund of scientific and geographic information concerning the region traversed by the explorers.

The explorations of Pike, though not directly inspired or fostered by President Jefferson, were none the less government enterprises, carried out by members of the United States army with the full knowledge and sanction of the Secretary of War. Their immediate promoter was General James Wilkinson, commander of the United States army, the strangeness of whose public career is without a parallel in American annals. Wilkinson was a man of undoubted ability, but sadly lacking in character. Born to intrigue as the sparks fly upward, a century or more of study has not sufficed to enable historians to unravel all of his devious designs. That he was secretly in the pay of the Spanish government, and dangled before the authorities the hope of bringing about a secession of the western states from the Union seems evident. That he was implicated in the designs of Aaron Burr seems certain, but precisely how, or to what extent no one yet knows.

Historical Introduction

However these things may be, in the summer of 1805 Wilkinson dispatched Pike with a small party of soldiers from St. Louis on a keel-boat voyage up the Mississippi River to explore the sources of that stream and assert the authority of the Government over those who resided on its upper waters. This mission, which consumed about nine months' time, was executed by Pike with signal success, and to the narration of it he devotes the first part of the volume of travels he subsequently published.

Back at St. Louis in the summer of 1806, Pike promptly began preparing for his second and far more arduous undertaking, which forms the subject matter of the present volume. The instructions given him by General Wilkinson under date of June 24, 1806, specified several objectives. In general, the enterprise was to be one of exploration, and of conciliation of the Indian tribes in the newly-acquired territory of the United States extending southwestward toward Santa Fe and the Spanish borders. In particular, Pike was to conduct certain Osage captives in safety to their homes in western Missouri, establish peace between the Osage and the Pawnee of Kansas, and open friendly relations with the more remote tribes of Comanche and others residing farther to the Southwest; he was to make careful geographical observations upon the regions traversed, and, in so far as might prove practicable, "ascertain the direction, extent, and navigation" of the Arkansas and Red rivers.

Historical Introduction

We may now advert briefly to the debatable aspect of Pike's enterprise—namely, what was Wilkinson's real purpose in promoting it? Was he acting in conjunction with the supposed designs of Burr against Mexico, or were his motives and reasons such as the commander of the United States army might properly entertain? If the former, was Pike himself cognizant of Wilkinson's design and a conscious agent of it?

Answering the last question first, Pike himself, at a subsequent date, in answer to questions put to him, plainly and emphatically denied that he had received any instructions from Wilkinson, either verbal or written, associating his enterprise in any way with the activities of Burr. Having in view Pike's character and integrity, this seems to me conclusive. It does not, of course, answer the question whether Wilkinson himself was entertaining projects whose real character he did not see fit to disclose to his young subordinate.

Nor can this question be conclusively answered. That Wilkinson had a propensity for intrigue, and that he was long secretly on the payroll of the Spanish government is known. There is no particular reason, however, for supposing that he was less ready to deceive his Spanish paymasters than to betray the interests of his own government, and a man possessed of his shrewdness was quite likely to have at all times at least two strings to his bow. Whatever his future course of action might be,

Historical Introduction

the information which Pike was to procure might be expected to prove useful to him, and it is entirely possible to reconcile all that we know of the enterprise with the assumption that Wilkinson's design in sending it out was wholly proper to one who was commander of the United States army and governor of Louisiana Territory.

The force of this reasoning becomes apparent when we observe that Pike was sent on two expeditions in quick succession, the one up the Mississippi, the other into the Southwest. No one has ever suggested that the former had any connection with the Burr conspiracy, or any secret design against the integrity of the British dominions. There were legitimate reasons for sending Pike into the Southwest no less than for sending him up the Mississippi, and since dishonest men frequently speak the truth, it is quite conceivable that Wilkinson may have done so when he affirmed that his sending Pike upon the southwestern expedition had no connection with the designs or activities of Aaron Burr.

One object, however, Wilkinson may properly have had in view which he could not publicly avow. Between the United States and Spain there existed such a conflict of interest and of ideals that it was reasonable to anticipate an armed conflict would sooner or later eventuate. The military arms of all civilized governments habitually assemble all the infor-

Historical Introduction

mation possible concerning countries against which their own may some day be arrayed in arms. To the writer it seems probable that Wilkinson desired that Pike should enter the Spanish territory and that the latter set out on his mission with the full intention of doing so. Had he contented himself, on his return, with making a confidential report to his chief this might have been frankly avowed; but it is obvious that it could not be set forth in the book which Pike proceeded, with all possible promptness, to publish, without giving affront to a power with which the United States was then at peace. Herein, we are inclined to think, lies the explanation of a matter which has greatly disturbed the minds of certain of Pike's commentators. If our thought is correct, Pike was not at heart displeased over his enforced detention by the Spanish authorities nor over the long detour through the Spanish king's dominions which they compelled him to take. On the contrary, in all this he was probably but realizing one of the objects held in view when he embarked upon the expedition. The forcible detention of his papers, on the other hand, was undoubtedly a source of real and grievous disappointment to Pike.

Leaving individual intrigue and governmental interest aside, the southwestern expedition of Lieutenant Pike was an exploit which his countrymen can well afford to remember with admiration. No one who reads the narrative

Historical Introduction

can fail to perceive the dauntless spirit which animated the fiery young leader, nor the loyalty and devotion which inspired his band of devoted followers. Few in number and with the scantiest of material equipment, they braved alike the treachery of the savages, the perils of starvation, the awful exposure of the Colorado Rockies in midwinter, and the prospect of perpetual confinement in a foreign land. They wrote a new chapter in the annals of human daring and devotion, and by their enterprise added a volume of abiding worth to the literature of New World exploration. For all but the leader the only prospect of reward was a modest monetary payment at the hands of their government, a prospect which we regret to record was never realized.

The career of Zebulon Pike was of comparatively brief duration, yet he succeeded in writing his name high in the annals of American achievement. He was born at Lamberton, New Jersey, on January 5, 1779. His father had been a captain in the Revolution and he subsequently entered the new United States army, in which he served from 1791 until the close of the War of 1812. The son's military career began while he was still a mere boy. In March, 1799, he became an ensign in the Second Infantry, and in April, 1800, he was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant.¹ This rank he still

¹ There is some uncertainty concerning the precise date of Pike's promotion, but this is of no material consequence to our story.

Historical Introduction

held when in the spring of 1805 he was selected by General Wilkinson to conduct the exploration of the Mississippi to its source. Pike was then but twenty-six years old, and but twenty-seven when in the summer of 1806 he began his southwestern expedition. His return and the publication of his book aroused widespread interest, but there seems to have been no impulse to reward him with promotion, such as today would be certain to find expression. While absent on the expedition the process of routine procured his promotion to the rank of captain. In the spring of 1808, some months after his return, he became a major, and on the last day of the year 1809 a lieutenant colonel.

Opportunities for promotion come slowly to officers in the regular army in time of peace, rapidly in time of war. When the War of 1812 dawned upon the country it found our military establishment, as usual, in a woeful state of unreadiness. The army contained, however, at least a few promising young officers, and prominent among them was Zebulon Pike. In July, 1812, he was given the commission of colonel in the Fifteenth Infantry, and when General Dearborn undertook the reduction of certain British forts along the Ontario-Niagara frontier the long-awaited opportunity to distinguish himself was presented. The first of these to be attacked was York (modern Toronto) and the command of the assaulting troops was intrusted to General Pike (he had been appointed

Historical Introduction

brigadier general on March 12, 1813, but the appointment yet remained to be confirmed). Here is not the place to tell the story of the battle. Suffice it to say that the British force, defeated and forced to flee, on retiring blew up the magazine, and by this act Pike and many of his followers were killed. He died, like Wolfe, in the moment of victory, his head pillowed on the British flag which he had purchased with his life.

In 1801 Pike married Clarissa Brown of Kentucky, who long survived him. Several children were born of this union, only one of whom, a daughter, grew to maturity. She married Symmes Harrison, son of General (later President) William Henry Harrison, and left a number of descendants.

The historical editor approaches the task of reprinting Pike's narrative with mixed emotions. The author possessed but a limited education, and his ideas of the art of book-making were strange and unusual enough. Nor does he appear to have received much counsel from his publisher, who, measured by present-day standards, was sadly derelict in his editorial duty. The original edition, with numerous appendixes and documents, was published at Philadelphia in 1810. An English edition was published at London in 1811 from "an authorized copy of the manuscript" which had been transmitted from America to the editor. This was carefully and competently edited, and is

Historical Introduction

a far more creditable production than is the American edition. Within a few years Pike's work was republished in France, Holland, and Germany, the translations being made, apparently, from the London, 1811, edition.

In the United States Pike's narrative has been twice reprinted in its entirety, first at Denver in 1889 and second at New York in 1895. The Denver edition is a reprint of the London one, accompanied by an introduction prepared by Willaim M. McGuire. The New York edition, elaborately edited by Elliott Coues, is the most useful to students. Coues was possessed of an extensive range of geographic information and in preparing the present volume I have utilized as fully as practicable the results of his research. So thoroughly has he done his work that as long as copies of it are available it may well be doubted whether anyone will ever think it desirable to undertake to print and edit anew Pike's narrative.

The present edition, it is perhaps unnecessary to say, makes no pretension to independent scholarly research, and the volume is not offered as a contribution to scholarship. Rather the effort has been made to present, in as attractive form as possible to the constituency for which the *Lakeside Classics* series is published, Pike's journal of his southwestern journey. It may be hoped that some who read the narrative here presented may be tempted to pursue the subject farther; those who desire

Historical Introduction

to do so will naturally turn to the editions we have noted and, in addition, to the more authoritative recent writers in the field of American history.

The text of the present volume has been taken directly from the first American edition of Pike's narrative, but it is not a slavish or absolutely literal copy. Rarely has a book been published so abounding in errors, both of commission and of omission, as Pike's volume. I have endeavored to reproduce with all due faithfulness the apparent meaning of the author. At times, however, this meaning is a matter of doubt, and frequently the statement of it is marred by faulty composition or an archaic system of punctuation, or both. These faults I have endeavored to correct in so far as this might be prudently undertaken; commonly I have indicated by the use of brackets words or phrases supplied by me but it has not been practicable to do so in every instance. The precise investigator will have no occasion to make use of the present reprint; others may read it in the confidence that they have before them substantially the identical text of Pike's narrative as first printed in 1810, but with certain corrections and changes introduced by the present editor with the design of rendering the work less difficult of perusal and comprehension than in the original edition.

MILO M. QUAIFE.

Detroit Public Library.

AN ACCOUNT OF EXPEDITIONS

TO THE

Sources of the Mississippi,

AND THROUGH THE

WESTERN PARTS OF LOUISIANA,

TO THE SOURCES OF THE

ARKANSAW, KANS, LA PLATTE, AND PIERRE
JAUN, RIVERS;

PERFORMED BY ORDER OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

DURING THE YEARS 1805, 1806, AND 1807.

AND A TOUR THROUGH

THE

INTERIOR PARTS OF NEW SPAIN,

WHEN CONDUCTED THROUGH THESE PROVINCES,

BY ORDER OF

THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL,

IN THE YEAR 1807.

By MAJOR Z. M. PIKE.

ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS AND CHARTS.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY C. & A. CONRAD, & Co. No. 30, CHESNUT STREET. SOMER-
VELL & CONRAD, PETERSBURGH. BONSAL, CONRAD, & Co. NORFOLK,
AND FIELDING LUCAS, JR. BALTIMORE.

John Binns, Printer.....1810.

Part I
To the Sources of
the Arkansas

REFERENCES.

Route of the Exploring Party.

Route provided by the Spaniards.

Excursions made by Capt. Pike.

..... American lamps.

o o o Spanish Camp.

§§§ *Limits of actual Surveys.*

± At the mouth of the Canadian, on the Arkansas River, the Ensigns armorial of France were buried in a leaden Box at the foot of a great Oak in 1742.

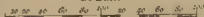
The Red River to A. was surveyed by T. Freeman Say.

The Washita to B by W^m Dunbar Esq^r.

The Arkansas from C. to its Mouth by L^t Wilkinson.

The White River to D by Cap.^t Many.

SCALE.



The Southwestern Expedition of Zebulon M. Pike

15th July, 1806, Tuesday: We sailed from the landing at Belle Fontaine¹ about three o'clock P.M. in two boats. Our party consisted of two lieutenants, one surgeon, one sergeant, two corporals, sixteen privates, and one interpreter. We had also under our charge, chiefs of the Osage and Pawnees, who, with a number of women and children, had been to Washington. These Indians had been redeemed from captivity among the Potowatomies, and were now to be returned to their friends at the Osage towns. The whole number of Indians amounted to fifty-one.

We ascended the river about six miles and encamped on the south side behind an island. This day my boat swung round twice; once when we had a tow rope on shore, which it

¹ Fort Belle Fontaine, the first United States military post within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase, was established by order of General James Wilkinson in 1805 at a point on the bank of the river about fourteen miles above St. Louis. Prior to this the spot had been the site of a Spanish military post over a third of a century earlier. In 1825 the garrison was removed from Fort Belle Fontaine to the site of present Jefferson Barracks, which has ever since remained the chief military center of the upper Mississippi Valley.

Zebulon M. Pike

snapped off in an instant. The Indians did not encamp with us at night. Distance six miles.

16th July, Wednesday: We rejoined our red brethren at breakfast, after which we again separated and with very severe labor arrived late in the evening opposite to the village of St. Charles,¹ where the Indians joined us. Distance fifteen miles.

17th July, Thursday: We crossed the river to learn if any communications had arrived from St. Louis, and if there was any news of other Indian enemies of the Osages. Called at Mr. James Morrison's² and was introduced to a Mr. Henry of New Jersey, about eight and twenty years of age. He spoke a little Spanish and French tolerably well. He wished to go with me as a volunteer. From this place I wrote letters back to Belle Fontaine, whilst the Indians were crossing the river. A man by the name of Ramsay reported to the Indians that 500 Sacs, Ioways, and Reynards, were at the mouth of Big Manitou. This gave them considerable uneasiness and it took me some

¹ The district of St. Charles embraced all of Spanish Louisiana north of the Missouri River. The village of St. Charles was the earliest and most important settlement in this district. Its founder was Louis Blanchette, a native of Quebec. The date of his location here is unknown. In 1797 the village had about eighty houses and 450 inhabitants. See Louis Houck, *History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), II, 79 ff.

² James Morrison, one of the early American settlers at St. Charles, was a son-in-law of Louis Blanchette.

The Southwestern Expedition

time to do away the impression it made upon them; for I by no means believed it. We were about sailing when my interpreter was arrested by the sheriff, at the suit of Manuel de Liza,¹ for a debt between three and four hundred dollars, and was obliged to return to St. Louis. This made it necessary for me to write another letter to the General. We encamped about three-fourths of a mile above the village.

18th July, Friday: Lieutenant Wilkinson² and Dr. Robinson³ went with the Indians across the country to the village La Charette.⁴

¹ Manual Lisa or De Lisa was born in New Orleans in 1771 and came to Upper Louisiana about the year 1790. He was a man of unusual enterprise and shrewdness, and is characterized by Houck (*op. cit.*, II, 254) as "the most remarkable man among the pioneer merchants of St. Louis." Lisa engaged in the fur trade and was long a dominant factor of the Missouri River region. He died at St. Louis Aug. 12, 1820.

² Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson was the son of General James Wilkinson, who sent Pike upon the expedition here recorded.

³ John Hamilton Robinson was born in Augusta County, Virginia, Jan. 24, 1782. He studied medicine, came to St. Louis in 1804, and married a sister-in-law of Dr. Antoine Saugrain, a prominent physician of the period in Upper Louisiana. On his return from the Pike expedition, Robinson became a surgeon in the United States army. In 1815 he went to Mexico, where for four years he fought in the war for Mexican independence, attaining the rank of brigadier general. About the year 1819 he settled at Natchez, where he died a year or two later. See Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 80-81.

⁴ La Charette, or Charette, was about fifty miles up river from St. Charles, in modern Warren County. A

Zebulon M. Pike

Mr. George Henry engaged, under oath, to accompany me on my tour. Wrote to the General, and enclosed him one of Henry's engagements. After we had made our little arrangements we marched by land. Joined the boats, which had sailed early, at twelve o'clock. Two of the men being sick, I steered one boat and Mr. Henry the other, by which means we were enabled to keep employed our full complement of oars, although we put the sick men on shore. Encamped on the north side. About eleven o'clock at night a tremendous thunder storm arose, and it continued to blow and rain, with thunder and lightning, until day. Distance fifteen miles.

19th July, Saturday: In consequence of the rain, we did not put off until past nine o'clock. My sick men marched. I had some reason to suspect that one of them intended never joining us again. At dinner time the sick man of my own boat came on board. I then went on board the other and we continued to run races all day, and although this boat had hitherto kept behind, yet I arrived at the encamping ground with her nearly half an hour before the other. The current not generally so strong as below. Distance fourteen miles.

fort was located here in the Spanish period, and a small French settlement developed, then the farthest western outpost on the Missouri. Both village and name have long since disappeared; for them have been substituted the near-by village of Marthasville. Charette is chiefly interesting as the residence, for a time, of Daniel Boone.

The Southwestern Expedition

20th July, Sunday: Embarked about sunrise. Wishing to ascertain the temperature of the water, I discovered my large thermometer to be missing, which probably had fallen into the river. Passed one settlement on the north side, and, after turning the point to the south, saw two more houses on the south side. We encamped in a long reach, which bore north and west. The absentees had not yet joined us. Distance fifteen miles.

21st July, Monday: It commenced raining near day, and continued until four o'clock in the afternoon: the rain was immensely heavy, with thunder and lightning remarkably severe. This obliged me to lay by, for, if we proceeded with our boats it necessarily exposed our baggage much more than when at rest, for the tarpaulin could then cover all. We set sail at a quarter past four o'clock and arrived at the village La Charette a little after the dusk of the evening. Here we found Lieutenant Wilkinson and Dr. Robinson with the Indians: also Baroney,¹ our interpreter, with letters from the General and our friends. The weather still continued cloudy, with rain. We were received

¹ A. F. Vasquez *dit* Baronet was born at St. Louis in 1783. Probably by way of recognition of his service to Pike, he was appointed an ensign in the Second Infantry by President Jefferson, Dec. 12, 1808. He resigned Oct. 1, 1814, with the rank of first lieutenant. In 1823 he was serving as interpreter and sub-Indian agent under Governor William Clark. See Houck, *op. cit.*, III, 110.

Zebulon M. Pike

into the house of a Mr. Chartron¹ and every accommodation in his power offered us. Distance six miles.

22d July, Tuesday: We arranged our boats, dried our loading, and wrote letters for Belle Fontaine.

23d July, Wednesday: I dispatched an express to the General, with advertisements relative to Kennerman,² the soldier who had deserted. We embarked after breakfast and made good progress. Lieutenant Wilkinson steered one boat and I the other, in order to detach all the men on shore with the Indians that we could spare. We crossed to the south side a little below Shepherd River. Dr. Robinson killed a deer, which was the first killed by the party. Distance thirteen miles.

24th July, Thursday: We embarked at half past six o'clock. Very foggy. The Indians accompanied by only three of my people. Lieutenant Wilkinson being a little indisposed, I was obliged to let Baroney steer his boat. We made an excellent day's journey, and encamped five miles from the Gasconade River. Killed three deer, one bear, and three turkeys. But three or four of the Indians arrived; the others

¹ Probably Joseph Chartran (Chartrand), who was syndic at La Charette during the Spanish period.

² Sergeant Henry Kinnerman. He had been with Pike on his previous expedition up the Mississippi, and is described by the commander as "one of the stoutest men I ever knew."

The Southwestern Expedition

encamped a small distance below. Distance eighteen miles.

25th July, Friday: We embarked at half past six o'clock and arrived at the entrance of the Gasconade River [at] half past eight o'clock, at which place I determined to remain the day, as my Indians and foot people were yet in the rear, and they had complained to me of being without shoes, leggings, etc. One of our Pawnees did not arrive until late. The other had communicated his suspicions to me that the Oto, who was in company, had killed him. He acknowledged that he proposed to him to take out their baggage, and return to St. Louis. The real occasion of his absence, however, was his having followed a large fresh trace up the Gasconade a considerable distance, but finding it led from the Missouri, he examined it and discovered horses to have been on it. He then left it, joined our's, and came in. This being generally the route taken by the Potowatomies when they go to war against the Osage, it occasioned some alarm. Every morning we were awoke by the mourning of the savages, who commenced crying about daylight and continued for the space of an hour.¹ I made inquiry of my interpreter with respect to this, who informed me that this was a custom not only with those who had recently lost their

¹ This custom was practiced also by Indians of other tribes. An instance of its occurrence among the Winnebago is described by Mrs. Juliette Kinzie in *Wau Bun* (Chicago, 1908), 62-63.

Zebulon M. Pike

relatives, but also with others who recalled to mind the loss of some friend, dead long since, and joined the other mourners purely from sympathy. They appeared extremely affected, tears ran down their cheeks, and they sobbed bitterly; but in a moment they dry their cheeks and cease their cries. Their songs of grief generally run thus: "My dear father exists no longer. Have pity on me, O Great Spirit! You see, I cry forever; dry my tears and give me comfort." The warriors' songs are thus: "Our enemies have slain my father (or mother); he is lost to me and his family; I pray to you, O Master of Life, to preserve me until I revenge his death, and then do with me as thou pleaseth." Distance five miles.

26th July, Saturday: We commenced at five o'clock to ferry the Indians over the Gasconade, and left the entrance of this river at half past six o'clock in the afternoon. Met five Frenchmen, who informed us that they had just left the Osage River and that it was so low they could not ascend it with their canoe. We wrote letters and sent them back by them. Dr. Robinson, Baroney, Sparks, and all the Indians encamped about one league above us. Killed one bear, two deer, one otter, three turkeys, and one raccoon. Distance fifteen miles.

27th July, Sunday: We embarked at half past five o'clock, and arrived at the Indians' camp at seven o'clock. They had been alarmed the day before, and in the evening sent men

The Southwestern Expedition

back in the trace, and some of the chiefs sat up all night. Breakfasted with them. About half past three o'clock encamped in sight of the Osage River. There being every appearance of rain, we halted thus early in order to give the Indians time to prepare temporary camps and to secure our baggage. I went out to hunt, and firing at a deer, near two of the Indians who were in the woods, they knew the difference of the report of my rifle from their guns, were alarmed, and immediately retired to camp. Distance thirteen miles.

28th July, Monday: Embarked at half past five o'clock, and at half past ten arrived in the Osage River, where we stopped, discharged our guns, bathed, etc. We then proceeded on about six miles, where we waited for and crossed the Indians to the west shore, and then proceeded on to the first island and encamped on the west side. Sans Oreille, and four or five young men only, came up, the rest encamping some distance behind. Killed one deer and one turkey. Distance nineteen miles.

29th July, Tuesday: All the Indians arrived very early and the Big Soldier, whom I had appointed the officer to regulate the march, was much displeased that Sans Oreille and the others had left him, and said for that reason he would not suffer any woman to go in the boat, and by that means separate the party; but in truth it was from jealousy of the men whose women went in the boats. He began by flogging

Zebulon M. Pike

one of the young men and was about to strike Sans Oreille's wife, but was stopped by him and told that he knew he had done wrong, but that the women were innocent. We then crossed them and embarked at half past eight o'clock. About twelve o'clock we found the Indians rafting the river, when the first chief of the Little Osage, called Tutasuggy, or the Wind, told me that the man whom the Big Soldier struck had not yet arrived with his wife, "but that he would throw them away." As I knew he was extremely mortified at the dissensions which appeared to reign amongst them, I told him by no means, that one of my boats should wait for the woman and her child, but that the man might go to the devil, as a punishment for his insubordination.

I then left Baroney with one boat, and proceeded with the other. We were called ashore by three young Indians, who had killed some deer, and, on putting them on board, gave them about one or two gills of whiskey, which intoxicated all of them. It commenced raining about one o'clock, and continued incessantly for three hours, which obliged us to stop and encamp. One of our men (Miller) lost himself, and did not arrive until after dark. Killed five deer, one turkey, and one raccoon. Distance fourteen miles.

30th July, Wednesday: After the fog dispersed I left Lieutenant Wilkinson with the party to dry the baggage, and I went with Dr.

The Southwestern Expedition

Robinson and Bradley. About two o'clock we returned, set sail, and having passed the first rapid about three miles, encamped on the eastern shore. Killed three deer. Distance five miles.

31st July, Thursday: We embarked early and passed several rapids pretty well. Dined with the Indians. Two of them left us in the morning for the village, and they all had an idea of doing the same, but finally concluded otherwise. One of the Osage, who had left the party for the village, returned and reported that he had seen and heard strange Indians in the woods. This we considered as merely a pretext to come back. I this day lost my dog, and the misfortune was the greater as we had no other dog who would bring anything out of the water. This was the dog Fisher presented to me at Prairie du Chien.¹ Killed three deer and one turkey. Distance eighteen miles.

¹On the occasion of Pike's expedition to the upper Mississippi. Henry M. Fisher was at this time an influential resident of Prairie du Chien. He was educated at Montreal, where he became interested in the fur trade and came west about the year 1790. After a period in the employ of the North West Company he became an independent trader with his home at Prairie du Chien. On the organization of Indiana Territory he was appointed captain of militia by Governor Harrison, and soon after (1803) justice of the peace. Pike testifies to Fisher's partiality to the United States. On the outbreak of the War of 1812, to avoid serving against this country he retired to the Red River region and did not return to Prairie du Chien until a decade had passed. He died there in 1827.

Zebulon M. Pike

1st August, Friday: It having rained all night, the river appeared to have risen about six inches. We spread out our baggage to dry, but it continuing to rain, by intervals, all day, the things were wetter at sundown than in the morning. We rolled them up and left them on the beach. We sent out two hunters in the morning, one of whom killed three deer; all the Indians killed three more. Total, six.

2d August, Saturday: The weather cleared up. The loading being spread out to dry, Dr. Robinson, myself, Bradley, Sparks, and Brown went out to hunt. We killed four deer; the Indians two. Having reloaded the boats, we embarked at five o'clock, and came about two miles. The river rose in the last twenty-four hours four inches.

3d August, Sunday: Embarked early and wishing to save the fresh,¹ I pushed hard all day. Sparks was lost, and did not arrive until night. We encamped about twenty-five paces from the river on a sandbar. Near day I heard the sentry observe that the boats had better be brought in, when I got up and found the water within a rod of our tent, and before we could get all of our things out it had reached the tent. Killed nine deer, one wild cat, one goose, and one turkey. Distance eighteen miles.

4th August, Monday: We embarked early and continued on for some time, not being able

¹ That is, take advantage of the fresh, or state of high water in the river.

The Southwestern Expedition

to find a suitable place to dry our things, but at length stopped on the east shore. Here we had to ferry the Indians over a small channel which we did not before observe; all of them, however, not arriving, we put off and continued our route. Finding our progress much impeded by our mast, I unshipped it and stripped it of its iron, and after Lieutenant Wilkinson had carved our names on it, set it adrift, followed by the yards. This mast had been cut and made at Pine Creek, Upper Mississippi. After proceeding some miles we found the Indians on the west shore, they having rafted the river. We stopped for them to cook, after which we proceeded on. The navigation had become very difficult from the rapidity of the current, occasioned by the rise of the water, which rose one foot in an hour. Killed two deer. Distance ten miles. Rainy.

5th August, Tuesday: We lay by this day in order to give the Indians an opportunity to dry their baggage. Dr. Robinson and myself, accompanied by Mr. Henry, went out to hunt; we lost the latter about two miles from camp. After hunting some time on the west shore we concluded to raft the river, which we effected with difficulty and danger, and hunted for some time, but without success. We then returned to the party and found [that] Mr. Henry, who had been lost, had arrived one hour before us: he had met one of the soldiers, who brought him in.

Zebulon M. Pike

Today in our tour I passed over a remarkably large rattlesnake as he lay curled up, and trod so near him as to touch him with my foot, he drawing himself up to make room for my heel. Dr. Robinson, who followed me, was on the point of treading on him, but by a spring avoided it. I then turned around and touched him with my ram-rod, but he showed no disposition to bite, and appeared quite peaceable. The gratitude which I felt towards him for not having bit me induced me to save his life. Killed four deer. River rises thirteen inches. Rain continues.

6th August, Wednesday: We embarked at half past eight o'clock, it having cleared off and had the appearance of a fine day. Passed Gravel River on the west. About three miles above this river the Indians left us and informed me [that] by keeping a little to the south and west they would make in fifteen miles what would be at least thirty-five miles for us. Dr. Robinson, Mr. Henry, and Sergeant Bal-lenger accompanied them. Killed two deer. Distance thirteen miles.

7th August, Thursday: Not being detained by the Indians, we are for once enabled to embark at a quarter past five o'clock. The river having fallen since yesterday morning about four feet, we wish to improve every moment of time previous to its entire fall. We proceeded extremely well, passed the Saline River on the east, and encamped opposite La Belle Roche on

The Southwestern Expedition

the west shore. This day we passed many beautiful cliffs on both sides of the river. Saw a bear and [a] wolf swimming the river. I employed myself part of the day in translating into French a talk of General Wilkinson to the Cheveux Blanche. Distance twenty-one miles.

8th August, Friday: We embarked [at] 20 minutes past five o'clock. Found the river had fallen about two feet during the night. At the confluence of the Youngar¹ with the Osage River we breakfasted. Encamped at night on a bar. Distance twenty-one miles.

9th August, Saturday: We embarked at five o'clock, and at half past six o'clock met the Indians and our gentlemen. They had met with nothing extraordinary. They had killed in their excursion seven deer and three bear. We proceeded to an old wintering ground, where there were eight houses, which were occupied last winter by———, who had not been able to proceed any higher for want of water. Passed the Old Man's Rapids, below which on the west shore are some beautiful cliffs. Dined with the Indians, after which we passed Upper Gravel River on the west, Pottoe River on the east. Sparks went out to hunt and did not arrive at our encampment, nor did the Indians. Distance twenty-five miles.

10th August, Sunday: Embarked a quarter

¹ On modern maps the Niangua, a considerable tributary of the Osage.

Zebulon M. Pike

past five o'clock, when the sun shone out very clearly; but in fifteen minutes it began to rain, and continued to rain very hard until one o'clock. Passed the Indians, who were encamped on the west shore, about a half a mile and halted for them. They all forded the river but Sans Oreille, who brought his wife up to the boats and informed me that Sparks had encamped with them, but left them early to return in search of us. We proceeded after breakfast. Sparks arrived just at the moment we were embarking. The Indians traversing the country on the east had sent Sparks with Sans Oreille. About two o'clock A. M. split a plank in the bottom of the bateau. Unloaded and turned her up, repaired the breach, and continued on the route. By four o'clock found the Indians behind a large island. We made no stop, and they followed us. We encamped together on a bar, where we proposed halting to dry our corn, etc., on Monday. Killed four deer. Distance $18\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

11th August, Monday: We continued here, to dry our corn and baggage. This morning we had a match at shooting. The prize offered to the successful person was a jacket and a twist of tobacco, which I myself was so fortunate as to win. I made the articles, however, a present to the young fellow who waited on me. After this, taking Huddleson with me, I went out to hunt. After traveling about twelve miles we arrived at the river, almost exhausted with

The Southwestern Expedition

thirst. I here indulged myself by drinking plentifully of the water and was rendered so extremely unwell by it that I was scarce capable of pursuing my route to the camp. On arriving opposite it I swam the river, from which I experienced considerable relief. The party informed me they had found the heat very oppressive, and the mercury, at sundown, was at 25° Reaumur. This day for the first time I saw trout west of the Allegheny Mountains. Reloaded our boats, and finished two new oars, which were requisite.

12th August, Tuesday: Previously to our embarkation, which took place at half past five o'clock, I was obliged to convince my red brethren that, if I protected them, I would not suffer them to plunder my men with impunity, for the chief had got one of my lads' tin cups attached to his baggage and, notwithstanding it was marked with the initials of the soldier's name, he refused to give it up. On which I requested the interpreter to tell him that I had no idea that he had purloined the cup, but supposed some other person had attached it to his baggage; but that, knowing it to be my soldier's, I requested him to deliver it up, or I should be obliged to take other measures to obtain it. This had the desired effect. I certainly should have put my threats into execution from this principle, formed from my experience during my intercourse with Indians, that if you have justice on your side, and do not

Zebulon M. Pike

enforce it, they universally despise you. When we stopped for dinner one of my men took his gun and went out; not having returned when we were ready to reëmbark, I left him. Passed the Indians twice when they were crossing the river. Passed some very beautiful cliffs on the west shore; also Vermillion and Grand rivers, the latter of which is a large stream, and encamped at the _____.

Immediately after our encampment a thunder storm came on which blew overboard my flag-staff and a number of articles of my clothing which were on top of the cabin, and sunk them immediately. Being much fatigued and the bank difficult of ascent, [I] lay down in the cabin without supper and slept all night. It continued to rain. The man I left on shore arrived on the opposite bank in the night, having killed two deer, but was obliged to leave the largest behind. Finding he was not to be sent for, he concealed his gun and deer and swam the river. Distance twenty-four miles.

13th August, Wednesday: It continued to rain. In the morning sent a boat over for Spark's gun and deer. Embarked at half past nine o'clock. Stopped to dine at two o'clock. During the time we halted the river rose over the flat bar on which we were. This, if we had no other proof, would convince us we were near the head of the river, as the rain must have reached it. We made almost a perfect circle so that I do not believe we were, at night, three

The Southwestern Expedition

miles from where we encamped last night. This day for the first time we have prairie hills. Distance thirteen miles.

14th August, Thursday: Embarked at half past five o'clock. Passed the Park, which is ten miles round and not more than three-quarters of a mile across, bearing from S. 5° E. to due N. At its head we breakfasted, and just as we were about to put off we saw and brought to a canoe manned with three engagees of Mr. ———, who informed us that the Little Osage had marched a war party against the Kans, and the Grand Osage a party against our citizens on the Arkansaw River. Wrote by them to the General and all friends. Gave the poor fellows some whiskey and eight quarts of corn, they having had only two turkeys for four days. We left them and proceeded, passing on our east some of the largest cedars I ever saw. Came on very well in the afternoon, and encamped on an island above Turkey Island. Distance twenty-eight miles.

15th August, Friday: We embarked at five o'clock, and at eight o'clock met the Indians and the gentlemen who accompanied them. Found all well. They had been joined by their friends and relatives from the village, with horses to transport their baggage. Lieutenant Wilkinson informed me that their meeting was very tender and affectionate, wives throwing themselves into the arms of their husbands, parents embracing their children, and children

Zebulon M. Pike

their parents, brothers and sisters meeting, one from captivity, the others from the towns—they at the same time returning thanks to the good God for having brought them once more together. In short, the *toute ensemble* was such as to make polished society blush, when compared with those savages, in whom the passions of the mind, either joy, grief, fear, anger, or revenge, have their full scope. Why can we not correct the baneful passions, without weakening the good? Sans Oreille made them a speech, in which he remarked: “Osage, you now see your wives, your brothers, your daughters, your sons redeemed from captivity. Who did this? Was it the Spaniards? No! The French? No! Had either of those people been governors of the country your relatives might have rotted in captivity, and you never would have seen them; but the Americans stretched forth their hands, and they are returned to you!! What can you do in return for all this goodness? Nothing! All your lives would not suffice to repay their goodness.” This man had children in captivity, not one of whom were we able to obtain for him.

The chief then requested that Lieutenant Wilkinson and Dr. Robinson might be permitted to accompany them by land, which I consented to. Wrote a letter to the Cheveux Blanche, by Lieutenant Wilkinson. When we parted, after delivering the Indians their baggage, Sans Oreille put an Indian on board to

The Southwestern Expedition

hunt or obey any other commands I might have for him. We stopped at eleven o'clock to dry our baggage. Found our biscuit and crackers almost all ruined. Put off at half past four o'clock and encamped at three quarters past five o'clock. Distance $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

16th August, Saturday: We embarked at five o'clock and came on extremely well in the barge to a French hunting camp, evacuated, twelve miles to breakfast, the bateau coming up late. We exchanged hands. About twelve o'clock passed the grand fork, which is equal in size to the one on which we pursued our route. Waited to dine at the rocks called the Swallow's Nest, on the west shore above the forks. The bateau having gained nearly half an hour, the crews are convinced that it is not the boat, but men who make the difference. Each took their own boat, after which we proceeded very well, the water being good and [the] men in spirits. Saw an elk on the shore, also met an old man alone hunting, from whom we obtained no information of consequence. Encamped on the west shore at Mine River. Passed the place where the chief called the Belle Oiseau, and others were killed. Distance thirty-seven miles.

17th August, Sunday: We embarked at five o'clock and came twelve miles to breakfast. At four o'clock arrived at ten French houses on the east shore where was then residing a Sac who was married to an Osage femme and spoke

Zebulon M. Pike

French only. We afterwards passed the position where Mr. Chouteau formerly had his fort,¹ not a vestige of which was remaining, the spot being only marked by the superior growth of vegetation. Here the river bank is one solid bed of stone-coal, just below which is a very shoal and rapid ripple; from whence to the village of the Grand Osage is nine miles across a large prairie. We came about two miles above and encamped on the west shore. This day the river has been generally bounded by prairies on both sides. Distance $41\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

18th August, Monday: We put off at half past five o'clock. Stopped at nine o'clock to breakfast. Passed the second fork of the river at twelve o'clock, the right hand fork bearing N. about 30 yards wide, the left (the one we pursued)² N. 60° W. and not more than 50 or 60 feet in width, very full of old trees, etc., but plenty of water. Observed the road where the chiefs and Lieutenant Wilkinson crossed. We proceeded until one o'clock, when we were halted by a large drift quite across the river. Dispatched Baroney to the village of the Grand Osage to procure horses to take our baggage nearer to the towns. Unloaded our boats, and

¹ This was Fort Carondelet, built by Pierre Chouteau in 1784 to restrain the Osage tribe. For a description of the fort and an account of the conditions responsible for its establishment see Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 210-12.

² The party now left the Big Osage, which it had ascended to this point, to proceed up the Little Osage River to the Osage villages.

The Southwestern Expedition

in about two hours Lieutenant Wilkinson, with Tutasuggy, arrived at our camp, the former of whom presented me an express from the General and letters from my friends. The chiefs remained at our camp all night. I was attacked by a violent headache. It commenced raining and continued with great force until day. Distance $19\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

19th August, Tuesday: We commenced very early to arrange our baggage, but had not finished at one o'clock, when the chief of the Grand Osage and 40 or 50 men of his village arrived with horses. We loaded and took our departure for the place where Manuel de Liza had his establishment, at which we arrived about four o'clock and commenced pitching our encampment near the edge of the prairie, when I was informed that three men had arrived from St. Louis, sent by Manuel de Liza. I dispatched Lieutenant Wilkinson to the village with Baroney, who brought to camp the man who had charge of the others from St. Louis. Having no passport, I detained him until further consideration. Our reception by the Osage was flattering, and particularly by the White Hair and our fellow-travelers. This evening there arrived in the village of the Grand Osage an express from the Arkansaw, who brought the news that a boat ascending that river had been fired on and had two white men killed and two wounded, and that the brother-in-law of the Cheveux Blanche, who happened

Zebulon M. Pike

to be on board, was also killed. This put the whole village into mourning.

20th August, Wednesday: About twelve o'clock I dispatched Baroney for the chiefs of the Grand village in order to give the General's parole to the Cheveux Blanche, also a young man to the village of the Little Osage. The Cheveux Blanche and his people arrived about three o'clock, and after waiting some time for the Wind and his people I just informed the chiefs that I had merely assembled them to deliver the parole of the General, and [to] present the marks of distinction intended for the Cheveux Blanche and his son, hanging a grand medal round the neck of the latter. The packets committed to my charge for the relations of the deceased Osages were then delivered to them, the widow making the distribution. It must be remarked that I had merely requested the Cheveux Blanche to come with his son and receive the General's message; but instead of coming with a few chiefs, he was accompanied by 186 men, to all of whom we were obliged to give something to drink. When the council was over, we mounted our horses and rode to the village and halted at the quarters of the chief, where we were regaled with boiled pumpkins. Then we went to two different houses and were invited to many others, but declined, promising that I would pay them a visit previous to my departure and spend the whole day. We then returned to camp. After in-

The Southwestern Expedition

quiring of White Hair if the men of Manuel de Liza had any ostensible object in view, he informed me that they had only said to him that they expected Manuel would be up to trade in the autumn. I concluded to take the deposition of Baptiste Larme as to the manner in which he was employed by Manuel de Liza and forward the same to Dr. Brown¹ and the attorney-general of Louisiana, and permit the men to return to St. Louis, as it was impossible for me to detach a party with them as prisoners.

21st August, Thursday: In the morning White Hair paid us a visit and brought us a present of corn, meat, and grease, and we invited him, his son, and son-in-law to breakfast with us and gave his companions something to eat. I then wrote a number of letters to send by express and enclosed the deposition of Larme. In the afternoon we rode to the village of the Little Osage, and were received by our fellow-travelers with true hospitality. Returned in the evening, when a tremendous storm of rain, thunder, and lightning commenced and continued with extraordinary violence until half past nine o'clock. It was with great difficulty we were enabled to keep our tents from blowing down. The place prepared for an observatory was carried away.

¹ Joseph Browne, recently of New York, whom President Jefferson had appointed secretary of Louisiana Territory, which was created by act of Congress passed in 1805. Browne was a brother-in-law of Aaron Burr.

Zebulon M. Pike

22d August, Friday: Preparing in the morning for the council,¹ and committing to paper the heads of the subject on which I intended to speak. The chiefs of the Little Osage arrived about one o'clock, also the interpreter of the Grand Osage, who pretended to say that the Grand Osage had expected us at their village with the Little Osage. The Cheveux Blanche arrived with his chiefs. The ceremony of the council being arranged, I delivered them the General's parole forwarded by express. My reason for not delivering it until this time was in order to have the two villages together, as it was equally interesting to both. After this I explained at large the will, wishes, and advice of their Great Father, and the mode which I conceived most applicable to carry them into effect. The Cheveux Blanche replied in a few words and promised to give me a full reply tomorrow. The Wind replied to the same amount; after which the Cheveux Blanche addressed himself to the Wind as follows: "I am shocked at your conduct, Tutasuggy, you who have lately come from the States and should have been wise; but you led the redeemed captives, with an officer of the United States, to your village, instead of bringing them through my town in the first instance." To this the Wind made no reply, but left his seat shortly after under pretense of giving some orders to his

¹ The scene of the affair here described was in Osage Township, Vernon County, Missouri.

The Southwestern Expedition

young men. I conceived this reprimand intended barely to show us the superiority of the one and [the] inferiority of the other, and [it] originated, in my opinion, from an altercation of Lieutenant Wilkinson and the Cheveux Blanche, in which allusions were made by the former on the friendly conduct of the Little Chief, alias the Wind, when compared to that of the latter. I must here observe that when the chiefs and prisoners left me, accompanied by Lieutenant Wilkinson, I did not know the geographical situation of the two villages, but conceived that in going to the Little village they would pass by the Grand village, and of course that Lieutenant Wilkinson and the chief would arrange the affair properly.

23d August, Saturday: I expected to have received from the chiefs their answers to my demands, but received an express from both villages informing me that they wished to put them off until tomorrow. I then adjusted my instruments. Took equal altitudes and a meridional altitude of the sun, but owing to flying clouds missed the immersions of Jupiter's satellites.

24th August, Sunday: Was nearly half the day in adjusting the line of collimation in the telescopic sights of my theodolite. It began to cloud before evening, and although the sky was not entirely covered I was so unfortunate as to miss the time of an immersion and (although clear in the intermediate period) an emersion

Zebulon M. Pike

also. I was informed by Baroney that the Little village had made up eleven horses for us. In the evening, however, the interpreter, accompanied by the son-in-law and son of the Cheveux Blanche, came to camp and informed me that there were no horses to be got in the village of the Big Osage.

25th August, Monday: In the morning we were visited by the Cheveux Blanche and three or four of his chiefs, who were pleased to accord to my demands. He found much difficulty in informing me that in all his village he could only raise four horses, but that we should be accompanied by his son and son-in-law. I then expressed to him the difference of our expectations from the reality. He remained until after twelve o'clock, when I went to the Little Osage village, and was received with great friendship by the chief. Remained all night at the house of Tutasuggy. Took the census.

26th August, Tuesday: Rose early and found my friends in council, which was merely relative to our horses. The chief then declared their determination to me, and that he himself gave me one horse and lent eight more to carry our baggage to the Pawnees. Sold the old bateau for 100 dollars in merchandise, which I conceived infinitely preferable to leaving her to the uncertain safe-guard of the Indians. About this time we received the news that the party of Potawatomies were discovered to be

The Southwestern Expedition

near the towns. I gave them the best advice I was capable of giving, and then returned to our camp.

27th August, Wednesday: Spent in arranging our baggage for the horses. Received four horses from the Little village and two from the Big village. In the evening Lieutenant Wilkin-son rode to the Grand village. I observed two immersions of Jupiter's satellites.

28th August, Thursday: Writing to the secretary at war and the General, and making arrangements for our departure. Visited by the Wind and Sans Oreille.

29th August, Friday: [Passed the] forenoon writing letters. In the afternoon Dr. Robinson and myself went to the Grand village, at which we saw the great medicine dance. Remained at the village all night.

30th August, Saturday: Returned to the camp after settling all my affairs at the town. Sealed up our dispatches and sent off the General's express. In the afternoon we were visited by the principal men of the Little vil-lage and the chief, to whom I presented a flag, and made the donations which I conceived requisite to the different Indians, on account of horses, etc.

31st August, Sunday: Arranging our packs and loading our horses, in order to fit our loads, as we expected to march on the morrow. Up late writing letters.

1st September, Monday: Struck our tents

Zebulon M. Pike

early in the morning and commenced loading our horses. We now discovered that an Indian had stolen a large black horse which the Cheveux Blanche had presented to Lieutenant Wilkinson. I mounted a horse to pursue him, but the interpreter sent to town and the chief's wife sent another in its place. We left the place about twelve o'clock with fifteen loaded horses, our party consisting of two lieutenants, one doctor, two sergeants, one corporal, fifteen privates, two interpreters, three Pawnees, and four chiefs of the Grand Osage, amounting in all to thirty warriors and one woman. We crossed the Grand Osage fork and a prairie N. 80° W. five miles to the fork of the Little Osage. Joined by Sans Oreille and seven Little Osage, all of whom I equipped for the march. Distance eight miles.

2d September, Tuesday: Marched at six o'clock. Halted at ten o'clock and two o'clock on the side of the creek,¹ our route having been all the time on its borders. Whilst there I was informed by a young Indian that Mr. C. Chouteau had arrived at the towns. I conceived it proper for me to return, which I did, accompanied by Baroney, first to the Little village; from whence we were accompanied by the Wind to the Big village, where we remained all night at the lodge of the Cheveux Blanche.

Mr. Chouteau gave us all the news, after which I scrawled a letter to the General and my friends.

¹ That is, the Little Osage River.

The Southwestern Expedition

3d September, Wednesday: Rose early, and went to the Little village to breakfast. After giving my letters to Mr. Henry and arranging my affairs, we proceeded and overtook our party at two o'clock. They had left their first camp about four miles. Our horses being much fatigued, we concluded to remain all night. Sent out our red and white hunters, all of whom only killed two turkeys. Distance four miles.

4th September, Thursday: When about to march in the morning one of our horses was missing, and we left Sans Oreille with the two Pawnees to search for him and proceeded till about nine o'clock; then stopped until twelve o'clock, and then marched. In about half an hour was overtaken and informed that Sans Oreille had not been able to find our horse, on which we encamped and sent two horses back for the load. One of the Indians, being jealous of his wife, sent her back to the village. After making the necessary notes, Dr. Robinson and myself took our horses and followed the course of the little stream until we arrived at the Grand River,¹ which was distant about six miles. We here found a most delightful basin of clear water of 25 paces diameter and about 100 in circumference, in which we bathed; found it

¹ Coues explains this statement as meaning the river on which the Grand Osage village was located, i.e., the Little Osage River. The point was at or near the Missouri-Kansas State boundary, according to Coues about ten miles north-northeast of Fort Scott, Kansas.

Zebulon M. Pike

deep and delightfully pleasant. Nature scarcely ever formed a more beautiful place for a farm. We returned to camp about dusk, when I was informed that some of the Indians had been dreaming and wished to return. Killed one deer, one turkey, one raccoon. Distance thirteen miles.

5th September, Friday: In the morning our Little Osage all came to a determination to return, and, much to my surprise, Sans Oreille amongst the rest! I had given an order on the chiefs for the lost horse to be delivered to Sans Oreille's wife, previously to my knowing that he was going back, but took from him his gun and the guns from all the others also. In about five miles we struck a beautiful hill, which bears south on the prairie: its elevation I suppose to be 100 feet. From its summit the view is sublime to the east and southeast. We waited on this hill to breakfast, and had to send two miles for water. Killed a deer on the rise, which was soon roasting before the fire. Here another Indian wished to return and take his horse with him, which, as we had so few, I could not allow, for he had already received a gun for the use of his horse. I told him he might return, but his horse would go to the Pawnees. We marched, leaving the Osage trace, which we had hitherto followed, and crossed the hills to a creek which was almost dry. Descended it to the main river, where we dined. The discontented Indian came up and

The Southwestern Expedition

put on an air of satisfaction and content. We again marched about six miles farther, and encamped at the head of a small creek, about half a mile from water.¹ Distance nineteen miles.

6th September, Saturday: We marched at half past six o'clock and arrived at a large fork of the Little Osage River, where we breakfasted. In the holes in the creek we discovered many fish, which, from the stripes on their bellies and their spots, I supposed to be trout and bass. They were twelve inches long. This brought to mind the necessity of a net, which would have frequently afforded subsistence to the whole party. We halted at one o'clock and remained until four o'clock. Being told that we could not arrive at any water, we here filled our vessels. At five o'clock arrived at the dividing ridge between the waters of the Osage and [the] Arkansaw (alias White River), the dry branches of which interlock within twenty yards of each other.² The prospect from the dividing ridge to the east and southeast is sublime. The prairie rising and falling in regular swells, as far as the sight can extend, produces a very beautiful appearance. We left our course and struck down to the southwest on a small creek, or rather

¹ Coues locates this camp "somewhere in the vicinity of Xenia, Bourbon County, Kansas."

² The stream to which Pike alludes as White River was the modern Neosho, which drains much of southeastern Kansas and empties into the Arkansas in the state of Oklahoma.

Zebulon M. Pike

a puddle of water. Killed one deer. Distance twenty miles.

7th September, Sunday: We left this at half past six o'clock, before which we had a difficulty with the son of the chief, which was accommodated. At nine o'clock we came upon a large fork and stopped for breakfast. Proceeded on and encamped on a fine stream, where we swam our horses and bathed ourselves. Killed four deer. Distance fifteen miles.

8th September, Monday: Marched early and arrived at a grand fork of the White River. The Indians were all discontented. We had taken the wrong ford, but, as they were dispersed through the woods, we could not be governed by their movements. Previously to our leaving the camp, the son of the Cheveux Blanche proposed returning, and offered no other reason than that he felt too lazy to perform the route. The reason I offered to prevent his going was ineffectual and he departed with his hunter, who deprived us of one horse. His return left us without any chief or man of consideration, except the son of the Belle Oiseau, who was but a lad. The former appeared to be a discontented young fellow and filled with self pride. He certainly should have considered it as an honor to be sent on so respectable an embassy as he was. Another Indian, who owned one of our horses, wished to return with him, which was positively refused him, but fearing he might steal him, I contented him with a

The Southwestern Expedition

present. We marched, and made the second branch, crossing one prairie twelve miles, in which we suffered much with drought. Distance twenty-two miles.

9th September, Tuesday: Marched at seven o'clock and struck a large creek at eleven miles distance. On holding a council, it was determined to ascend this creek to the highest point of water and then strike across to a large river of the Arkansaw. We ascended four miles and a half, and encamped. Killed one cabrie,¹ two deer, two turkeys. Distance twelve miles.

10th September, Wednesday: Marched early. Struck and passed the divide between the Grand River² and the Verdegris River. Stopped to breakfast on a small stream of the latter, after which we marched and encamped on the fourth small stream. Killed one elk, one deer. Distance twenty-one miles.

11th September, Thursday: Passed four branches and over high hilly prairies. Encamped at night on a large branch of Grand River. Killed one cabrie, one deer. Distance seventeen miles.

12th September, Friday: Commenced our march at seven o'clock. Passed very rough flint hills. My feet blistered and very sore. I stood on a hill and in one view below me saw buffalo, elk, deer, cabrie, and panthers. Encamped on the main branch of Grand River,

¹ That is, antelope.

² The Neosho.

Zebulon M. Pike

which had very steep banks and was deep. Dr. Robinson, Bradley, and Baroney arrived after dusk, having killed three buffalo, which with one I killed and two by the Indians made six; the Indians alleging it was the Kans' hunting-ground, therefore they would destroy all the game they possibly could. Distance eighteen miles.

13th September, Saturday: Late in marching, it having every appearance of rain. Halted to dine on a branch of Grand River. Marched again at half past two o'clock and halted at five, intending to dispatch Dr. Robinson and one of our Pawnees to the village to-morrow. Killed six Buffalo, one elk, and three deer. Distance nine miles.¹

14th September, Sunday: The Doctor and Frank (a young Pawnee) marched for the village at daylight; we [set out] at half past six o'clock. Halted at one o'clock. On the march we were continually passing through large herds of buffalo, elk, and cabrie, and I have no doubt but one hunter could support 200 men. I prevented the men shooting at the game, not merely because of the scarcity of ammunition but, as I conceived, the laws of morality forbade it also. Encamped at sunset on the main branch of White River called Grand River.² Killed one buffalo and one cabrie. Distance twenty-one miles.

¹ In the close vicinity of Marion, Marion County, Kansas. Coues.

² Near Durham, Marion County. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

15th September, Monday: Marched at seven o'clock; passed a very large encampment, evacuated, which had been occupied last summer. Proceeded on to the dividing ridge between the waters of the White River and the Kans. This ridge was covered with a layer of stone, which was strongly impregnated with iron ore, and on the west side of said ridge we found spa springs. Halted at one o'clock,¹ very much against the inclination of the Osage, who, from the running of the buffalo, conceived a party of the Kans to be near. Killed two buffalo. Distance eighteen miles.

16th September, Tuesday: Marched late, and in about four miles and a half distance came to a very handsome branch of water, at which we stopped and remained until after two o'clock, when we marched and crossed two branches. Encamped on the third. At the second creek a horse was discovered on the prairie, when Baroney went in pursuit of him on a horse of Lieutenant Wilkinson, but arrived at our camp without success. Distance thirteen miles.

17th September, Wednesday: Marched early and struck the main southeast branch² of the Kans River at nine o'clock. It appeared to be twenty-five or thirty yards wide, and is navigable in the flood seasons. We passed it six

¹In the vicinity of Carleton, Dickinson County. Coues.

²Smoky Hill River. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

miles to a small branch to breakfast. Game getting scarce, our provision began to run low. Marched about two o'clock and encamped at sundown on a large branch. Killed one buffalo. Distance twenty-one miles.

18th September, Thursday: Marched at our usual hour and at twelve o'clock halted at a large branch¹ of the Kans, which was strongly impregnated with salt. This day we expected the people of the village to meet us. We marched again at four o'clock. Our route being over a continued series of hills and hollows, we were until eight at night before we arrived at a small dry branch.

It was nearly ten o'clock before we found any water. Commenced raining a little before day. Distance twenty-five miles.

19th September, Friday: It having commenced raining early, we secured our baggage and pitched our tents. The rain continued without any intermission the whole day, during which we employed ourselves in reading the Bible, Pope's Essays, and in pricking on our arms with India ink some characters which will frequently bring to mind our forlorn and dreary situation, as well as the happiest days of our life. In the rear of our encampment was a hill on which there was a large rock where the Indians kept a continual sentinel, as I imagine to apprise them of the approach of any party,

¹ The Saline River. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

friends or foes, as well as to see if they could discover any game on the prairies.

20th September, Saturday: It appearing as if we possibly might have a clear day, I ordered our baggage spread abroad to dry, but it shortly after clouded up and commenced raining. The Osage sentinel discovered a buffalo on the prairies, upon which we dispatched a hunter on horseback in pursuit of him, also some hunters out on foot, and before night they killed three buffalo, some of the best of which we brought in and jerked or dried by the fire. It continued showery until afternoon, when we put our baggage again in a position to dry and remained encamped. The detention of the Doctor and our Pawnee ambassador began to be a serious matter of consideration.

21st September, Sunday: We marched at eight o'clock, although [there was] every appearance of rain, and at eleven o'clock passed a large creek remarkably salt. Stopped at one o'clock on a fresh branch of the Salt Creek. Our interpreter having killed an elk, we sent out for some meat, which detained us so late that I concluded it best to encamp where we were in preference to running the risk of finding no water. Lieutenant Wilkinson was attacked with a severe headache and slight fever. One of my men had been attacked with a touch of the pleurisy on the eighteenth and was still ill. We were informed by an Osage woman that two of the Indians were conspiring to desert

Zebulon M. Pike

us in the night and steal some of our horses, one of whom was her husband. We engaged her as our spy. Thus were we obliged to keep ourselves on our guard against our own companions and fellow-travelers, men of a nation highly favored by the United States, but whom I believe to be a faithless set of poltroons, incapable of a great and generous action. Among them, indeed, there may be some exceptions.

In the evening, finding that the two Indians above mentioned had made all preparations to depart, I sent for one of them who owned a horse and had received a gun and other property for his hire and told him I knew his plans, and that if he was disposed to desert I should take care to retain his horse; that as for himself he might leave me if he pleased, as I only wanted *men* with us. He replied, that he was a *man*, that he always performed his promises, that he had never said he would return, but that he would follow me to the Pawnee village, which he intended to do. He then brought his baggage and put it under charge of the sentinel and slept by my fire; but notwithstanding [this] I had him well watched. Killed one elk. Distance ten miles.

22d September, Monday: We did not march until eight o'clock, owing to the indisposition of Lieutenant Wilkinson. At eleven waited to dine. Light mists of rain with flying clouds. We marched again at three o'clock and continued our route twelve miles to the first branch

The Southwestern Expedition

of the Republican Fork. Met a Pawnee hunter, who informed us that the chief had left the village the day after the Doctor arrived, with 50 or 60 horses and many people, and had taken his course to the north of our route; consequently we had missed each other. He likewise informed [us that] the Tetaus had recently killed six Pawnees, the Kans had stolen some horses, and that a party of 300 Spaniards had lately been as far as the Sabine, but for what purpose unknown. Distance eleven miles.

23d September, Tuesday: Marched early and passed a large fork of the Kans River,¹ which I suppose to be the one generally called Solomon's. One of our horses fell into the water and wet his load. Halted at ten o'clock on a branch of this fork. We marched at half-past one and encamped at sundown² on a stream where we had a great difficulty to find water. We were overtaken by a Pawnee, who encamped with us. He offered his horse for our use. Distance twenty-one miles.

24th September, Wednesday: We could not find our horses until late, when we marched. Before noon met Frank (who had accompanied Dr. Robinson to the village) and three other Pawnees, who informed us that the chief and his party had only arrived at the village yester-

¹ The Smoky Hill River. Coues.

² Somewhere in the vicinity of Jamestown, Republic County, Kansas. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

day, and had dispatched them out in search of us. Before three o'clock we were joined by several Pawnees. One of them wore a scarlet coat with a small medal of General Washington, and a Spanish medal also. We encamped at sunset on a middle-sized branch¹ and were joined by several Pawnees in the evening, who brought us some buffalo meat. Here we saw some mules, horses, bridles, and blankets, which they obtained of the Spaniards. Few only had breech cloths, most being wrapped in buffalo robes, otherwise quite naked. Distance eighteen miles.

25th September, Thursday: We marched at a good hour and in about eight miles struck a very large road on which the Spanish troops returned and on which we could yet discover the grass beaten down in the direction which they went.

When we arrived within about three miles of the village² we were requested to remain, as

¹ On White Rock Creek, west of the town of White Rock, Kansas. Coues.

² The site of the village where Pike held his famous council with the Pawnee is still a matter of dispute. Coues, who has annotated so fully the journal of Pike, was compelled to confess his inability to locate it. In 1901 representatives of the state of Kansas fixed upon section 3, township 2 south, range 5 west, in Republic County, Kansas, as the site and the legislature appropriated funds for a pretentious monument which was erected to mark it. In September, 1906, the centenary of Pike's council was celebrated here with imposing ceremonies. Recently, however, Supt. A. E. Sheldon

The Southwestern Expedition

the ceremony of receiving the Osage into the towns was to be performed here. There was a small circular spot, clear of grass, before which the Osage sat down. We were a small distance in advance of the Indians. The Pawnees then advanced to within a mile of us and halted, divided into two troops, and came on each flank at full charge, making all the gestures and performing the maneuvers of a real war charge. They then encircled us around and the chief advanced in the center and gave us his hand: his name was Characterish. He was accompanied by his two sons and a chief by the name of Iskatappe. The Osage were still seated, but the Belle Oiseau then rose and came forward with a pipe, and presented it to the chief, who took a whiff or two from it. We then proceeded on, the chief, Lieutenant Wilkinson and myself in front; my sergeant, on a white horse, next with the colors; then our horses and baggage, escorted by our men, with the Pawnees on each side, running races, etc. When we arrived on the hill over the town we were again halted and the Osage seated in a row, when each Pawnee who intended so to do presented them with a horse [and] gave a pipe to smoke to the Osage to

of the Nebraska Historical Society has located, as he thinks, the real site of the village some miles farther north in southern Nebraska. William E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, confesses a lack of certitude as to the identification made a quarter of a century ago, and equally of the one which Mr. Sheldon seeks to establish.

Zebulon M. Pike

whom he had made the present. In this manner were eight horses given. Lieutenant Wilkinson then proceeded on with the party to the river above the town, and encamped. As the chief had invited us to his lodge to eat, we thought it proper for one to go. At the lodge he gave me many particulars which were interesting to us, relative to the late visit of the Spaniards. I went up to our camp in the evening, having a young Pawnee with me loaded with corn for my men. Distance twelve miles.

26th September, Friday: Finding our encampment not eligible as to situation, we moved down on to the prairie hill, about three-fourths of a mile nearer the village. We sent our interpreter to town to trade for provisions. About three o'clock in the afternoon twelve Kans arrived at the village and informed Baroney that they had come to meet us, hearing we were to be at the Pawnees' village. We pitched our camp upon a beautiful eminence, from whence we had a view of the town and all that was transacting. In the evening Baroney, with the chief, came to camp to give us the news, and returned together.

27th September, Saturday: Baroney arrived from the village about one o'clock with Carac-terish and three other chiefs, to all of whom we gave a dinner. I then made an appropriate present to each, after which Lieutenant Wilkinson and myself accompanied them to town, where we remained a few hours, and returned.

The Southwestern Expedition

Appointed to-morrow for the interview with the Kans and Osage.

28th September, Sunday: Held a council of the Kans and Osage, and made them smoke the pipe of peace. Two of the Kans agreed to accompany us. We received a visit from the chief of the village. Made an observation on an emersion of one of Jupiter's satellites.

29th September, Monday: Held our grand council with the Pawnees, at which were present not less than 400 warriors, the circumstances of which were extremely interesting. The notes I took on my grand council held with the Pawnee nation were seized by the Spanish government, together with all my speeches to the different nations. But it may be interesting to observe here, in case they should never be returned, that the Spaniards had left several of their flags in this village, one of which was unfurled at the chief's door the day of the grand council, and that amongst various demands and charges I gave them, was, that the said flag should be delivered to me and one of the United States' flags be received and hoisted in its place. This probably was carrying the pride of nations a little too far, as there had so lately been a large force of Spanish cavalry at the village, which had made a great impression on the minds of the young men, as to their power, consequence, etc., which my appearance with twenty infantry[men] was by no means calculated to remove. After the chiefs had replied to various

Zebulon M. Pike

parts of my discourse, but were silent as to the flag, I again reiterated the demand for the flag, adding that it was impossible for the nation to have two fathers; that they must either be the children of the Spaniards or acknowledge their American Father. After a silence of some time, an old man rose, went to the door, and took down the Spanish flag and brought it and laid it at my feet, and then received the American flag and elevated it on the staff which had lately borne the standard of his Catholic Majesty. This gave great satisfaction to the Osage and Kans, both of whom decidedly avow themselves to be under the American protection. Perceiving that every face in the council was clouded with sorrow, as if some great calamity was about to befall them, I took up the contested colors and told them that as they had now shown themselves dutiful children in acknowledging their great American Father, I did not wish to embarrass them with the Spaniards, for it was the wish of the Americans that their red brethren should remain peaceably around their own fires and not embroil themselves in any disputes between the white people; and that for fear the Spaniards might return there in force again I returned them their flag, but with an injunction that it should never be hoisted during our stay. At this there was a general shout of applause, and the charge [was] particularly attended to.

30th September, Tuesday: Remained all day

The Southwestern Expedition

at the camp but sent Baroney to town, who informed me on his return that the chief appeared to wish to throw great obstacles in our way. A great disturbance had taken place in the village owing to one of the young Pawnees who lately came from the United States (Frank) having taken the wife of an Osage and run away with her. The chief in whose lodge the Osage put up was extremely outraged, considering it a breach of hospitality to a person under his roof, and threatened to kill Frank if he caught him.

1st October, Wednesday: Paid a visit to town and had a very long conversation with the chief, who urged everything in his power to induce us to turn back. Finally, he very candidly told us that the Spaniards wished to have gone farther into our country, but he induced them to give up the idea; that they had listened to him and he wished us to do the same; that he had promised the Spaniards to act as he now did; and that we must proceed no farther or he must stop us by force of arms. My reply was that I had been sent out by our great Father to explore the western country, to visit all his red children, to make peace between them, and turn them from shedding blood; that he might see how I had caused the Osage and Kans to meet to smoke the pipe of peace together, and take each other by the hands like brothers; that as yet my road had been smooth, and a blue sky over our heads. I had not seen any blood in our

Zebulon M. Pike

paths, but he must know that the young warriors of his great American Father were not women to be turned back by words; that I should therefore proceed, and if he thought proper to stop me, he could attempt it; but we were men, well armed, and would sell our lives at a dear rate to his nation; that we knew our great Father would send our young warriors there to gather our bones and revenge our deaths on his people, when our spirits would rejoice in hearing our exploits sung in the war songs of our chiefs. I then left his lodge and returned to camp in considerable perturbation of mind.

2d October, Thursday: We received advice from our Kans that the chief had given publicity to his idea of stopping us by force of arms, which gave serious reflections to me and was productive of many singular expressions from my brave lads which called for my esteem at the same time that they excited my laughter. Attempted to trade for horses but could not succeed. In the night we were alarmed by some savages coming near our camp in full speed, but they retreated equally rapid [ly] on being hailed with fierceness by our sentinels. This created some degree of indignation in my little band, as we had noticed that all the day had passed without any traders presenting themselves, which appeared as if all intercourse was interdicted!! Writing [wrote] to the secretary at war, the general, etc.

The Southwestern Expedition

3d October, Friday: The intercourse again commenced. Traded for some horses. Writing [wrote] for my express.

4th October, Saturday: Two French traders arrived at the village in order to procure horses to transport their goods from the Missouri to the village. They gave us information that Captains Lewis and Clark with all their people had descended the river to St. Louis. This diffused general joy through our party. Our trade for horses advanced none this day.

5th October, Sunday: Buying horses, preparing to march, and finishing my letters.

6th October, Monday: Marched my express. Purchasing horses and preparing to march on the morrow.

7th October, Tuesday: In the morning found two of our newly-purchased horses missing. Sent in search of them. The Indians brought in one pretty early. Struck our tents and commenced loading our horses. Finding there was no probability of our obtaining the other lost one, we marched at two P. M., and as the chief had threatened to stop us by force of arms we had made every arrangement to make him pay as dear for the attempt as possible. The party was kept compact, and marched on by a road round the village, in order that if attacked the savages would not have their houses to fly to for cover. I had given orders not to fire until within five or six paces and then to charge with the bayonet and saber when I

Zebulon M. Pike

believe it would have cost them at least 100 men to have exterminated us, which would have been necessary. The village appeared all to be in motion. I galloped up to the lodge of the chief, attended by my interpreter and one soldier, but soon saw there was no serious attempt to be made, although many young men were walking about with their bows, arrows, guns, and lances. After speaking to the chief with apparent indifference, I told him that I calculated on his justice in obtaining the horse and that I should leave a man until the next day at twelve o'clock to bring him out. We then joined the party and pursued our route. When I was once on the summit of the hill which overlooks the village, I felt [in] my mind as if relieved from a heavy burden; yet all the evil I wished the Pawnees was that I might be the instrument in the hands of our government, to open their ears and eyes with a strong hand, to convince them of their power. Our party now consisted of two officers, one doctor, eighteen soldiers, one interpreter, three Osage men and one woman, making twenty-five warriors. We marched out and encamped on a small branch distant seven miles, on the same route we came in.¹ Rain in the night.

8th October, Wednesday: I conceived it best to send Baroney back to the village with a present, to be offered for our horse, the chief having suggested the propriety of the measure.

¹ At, or near, the encampment of Sept. 24. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

He met his son and the horse with Sparks. Marched at ten o'clock, and at four o'clock came to the place where the Spanish troops encamped the first night they left the Pawnee village. Their encampment was circular, having only small fires round the circle to cook by. We counted 59 fires; now if we allow six men to each fire, they must have been 354 in number. We encamped on a large branch of the second fork of the Kans River. Distance eighteen miles.

9th October, Thursday: Marched at eight o'clock, being detained until that time by our horses being at a great distance. At eleven o'clock we found the forks of the Spanish and Pawnee roads, and when we halted at twelve o'clock we were overtaken by the second chief (or Iskatappe) and the American chief with one-third of the village. They presented us with a piece of bear meat. When we were about to march we discovered that the dirk of the doctor had been stolen from behind his saddle. After marching, the men, the doctor and myself, with the interpreter, went to the chief and demanded that he should cause a search to be made; it was done, but when the dirk was found the possessor asserted that he had found it on the road. I told him that he did not speak the truth, and informed the chief that we never suffered a thing of ever so little value to be taken without liberty. At this time the prairie was covered with his men, who began to

Zebulon M. Pike

encircle us around, and Lieutenant Wilkinson with the troops had gained half a mile on the road. The Indian demanded a knife before he would give it up, but as we refused to give any, the chief took one from his belt and gave [it] to him, took the dirk, and presented it to the Doctor, who immediately returned it to the chief as a present and desired Baroney to inform him that he now saw it was not the value of the article but the act we despised, and then galloped off. In about a mile we discovered a herd of elk which we pursued. They took back in sight of the Pawnees, who immediately mounted fifty or sixty young men and joined in the pursuit. Then, for the first time in my life, I saw animals slaughtered by the true savages with their original weapons, bows and arrows; they buried the arrow up to the plume in the animal. We took a piece of meat and pursued our party. We overtook them and encamped¹ within the Grand or Solomon Fork, which we crossed on the 23d of September (lower down) on our route to the Pawnees. This was the Spanish encamping ground. In the evening two Pawnees came to our camp, who had not eaten for three days [during] two of which they had carried a sick companion, whom they had left that day. We gave them supper, some meat and corn, and they immediately departed in order to carry their sick

¹ In the vicinity of Beloit, Mitchell County, Kansas. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

companion this seasonable supply. When they were coming into camp the sentinel challenged, it being dark. They immediately (on seeing him bring his piece to the charge) supposing he was about to fire on them, advanced to give him their hands. He, however, not well discerning their motions, was on the point of firing, but being a cool, collected little fellow, called out that there were two Indians advancing on him and if he should fire. This brought out the guard, when the poor affrighted savages were brought into camp, very much alarmed, for they had not heard of a white man's being within their country, and thought they were entering one of the camps of their own people. Distance eighteen miles.

10th October, Friday: Marched at seven o'clock and halted at twelve o'clock to dine. Were overtaken by the Pawnee chief whose party we left the day before, who informed us the hunting party had taken another road and that he had come to bid us goodby. We left a large ridge on our left, and at sundown crossed it. From this place we had an extensive view of the southwest. We observed a creek at a distance, for which I meant to proceed. The Doctor, interpreter, and myself arrived at eight o'clock at night; found water and wood, but had nothing to eat. Kindled a fire in order to guide the party, but they, not being able to find the route and not knowing the distance, encamped on the prairie without wood or water.

Zebulon M. Pike

11th October, Saturday: Ordered Baroney to return to find the party and conduct them to our camp. The Doctor and myself went out to hunt, and on our return found all our people had arrived except the rear guard, which was in sight. Whilst we halted, five Pawnees came to our camp and brought some bones of a horse which the Spanish troops had been obliged to eat at their encampment on this creek. We took up our line of march at twelve o'clock and at sundown the party halted on the saline. I was in pursuit of buffalo and did not make the camp until near ten o'clock at night. Killed one buffalo. Distance twelve miles.

12th October, Sunday: Here the Belle Oiseau and one Osage left us, and there remained only one man and woman of that nation. Their reason for leaving us was that our course bore too much west, and they desired to bear more for the hunting ground of the Osage. In the morning sent out to obtain the buffalo meat, and crossing the river two or three times, we passed two camps where the Spanish troops had halted. Here they appeared to have remained some days, their roads being so much blended with the traces of the buffalo that we lost them entirely. This was a mortifying stroke as we had reason to calculate that they had good guides and were on the best route for wood and water. We took a southwest direction and before night were fortunate enough to strike their road on the left, and at dusk,

The Southwestern Expedition

much to our surprise, struck the east fork¹ of the Kans or La Touche de la Cote Bucanieus. Killed one buffalo. Distance eighteen miles.

13th October, Monday: The day being rainy, we did not march until two o'clock, when it having an appearance of clearing off, we raised our camp, after which we marched seven miles and encamped on the head of a branch of the river we left. Had to go two miles for water. Killed one cabrie.

14th October, Tuesday: It having drizzled rain all night and the atmosphere being entirely obscured, we did not march until a quarter past nine o'clock, and commenced crossing the dividing ridge between the Kans and Arkansas rivers. Arrived on a branch of the latter at one o'clock. Continued down it in search of water until after dusk, when we found a pond on the prairie, which induced us to halt.² Sparks did not come up, being scarcely able to walk with rheumatic pains. Wounded several buffalo, but could get none of them. Distance twenty-four miles.

15th October, Wednesday: In the morning rode out in search of the south trace and crossed the low prairie, which was nearly all covered with ponds, but could not discover it. Finding Sparks did not arrive, [I] sent two men in search of him, who arrived with him about eleven

¹ The Smoky Hill River. Coues.

² Somewhere in the vicinity of Claflin, Barton County, Kansas. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

o'clock. At twelve o'clock we commenced our line of march, and at five o'clock Dr. Robinson and myself left the party at a large creek, having pointed out a distant wood to Lieutenant Wilkinson for our encampment, in order to search some distance up it for the Spanish trace. Killed two buffalo and left part of our clothing with them to scare away the wolves. Went in pursuit of the party. On our arrival at the creek appointed for the encampment, did not find them. Proceeded down it for some miles, and, not finding them, encamped, struck fire, and then supped on one of our buffalo tongues.

16th October, Thursday: Early on horseback; proceeded up the creek some distance in search of our party, but at twelve o'clock crossed to our two buffaloes; found a great many wolves at them, notwithstanding the precaution [we had] taken to keep them off. Cooked some marrow bones and again mounted our horses, and proceeded down the creek to their junction. Finding nothing of the party, I began to be seriously alarmed for their safety. Killed two more buffalo. Made our encampment and feasted sumptuously on the marrow-bones. Rain in the night.

17th October, Friday: Rose early, determining to search the creek to its source. Very hard rain, accompanied by a cold northwest [wind] all day. Encamped near night without being able to discover any signs of the party. Our

The Southwestern Expedition

sensations now became excruciating, not only for their personal safety, but the fear of the failure of the national objects intended to be accomplished by the expedition; and our own situation was not the most agreeable, not having more than four rounds of ammunition each, and [being] 400 miles in the nearest direction from the first civilized inhabitant. We, however, concluded to search for them on the morrow, and if we did not succeed in finding them to strike the Arkansaw, where we were in hopes to discover some traces, if not cut off by the savages.

18th October, Saturday: Commenced our route at a good time and about ten o'clock discovered two men on horseback in search of us, one my waiter. They informed us the party was encamped on the Arkansaw, about three miles south of where we then were¹: this surprised us very much as we had no conception of that river being so near. On our arrival [we] were met by Lieutenant Wilkinson, who with all the party was greatly concerned for our safety. The Arkansaw, on the party's arrival, had not water in it six inches deep, and the stream was not more than twenty feet wide, but the rain of the two days covered all the bottom of the river, which in this place is 250 yards from bank to bank. [The banks] which are not more than four feet in height, [are] bordered by a

¹In the immediate vicinity of the present city of Great Bend. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

few cotton-wood trees. On the north side [they are bounded] by a low swampy prairie, on the south by a sandy sterile desert at a small distance. In the afternoon the Doctor and myself took our horses and crossed the Arkansaw in order to search for some trees which might answer the purpose to make canoes. Found but one, and returned at dusk. It commenced raining at twelve o'clock at night.

19th October, Sunday: Finding the river rising rapidly, I thought it best to secure our passage over. We consequently made it good by ten o'clock A. M. Rain all day. Preparing our tools and arms for labor and the chase on the morrow.

20th October, Monday: Commenced our labor at two trees for canoes, but one proved too much doated.¹ Killed two buffalo and one cabrie. Discharged our guns at a mark, the best shot [to receive] a prize of one tent and a pair of shoes. Our only dog was standing at the root of the tree in the grass, and one of the balls struck him on the head and killed him. Ceased raining about 12 o'clock.

21st October, Tuesday: Doctor Robinson and myself mounted our horses in order to go down the river to the entrance of the three last creeks we had crossed on our route, but meeting with buffalo we killed four; also one cabrie. Returned to camp and sent for the meat.

22d October, Wednesday: Having sat up very

¹ That is, unsound.

The Southwestern Expedition

late last evening expecting the sergeant and party, who did not arrive, we were very anxious for them, but about ten o'clock Bradley arrived and informed us that they could not find the buffalo which we had killed on the prairie. They all arrived before noon, and in the afternoon we scaffolded some meat and nearly completed the frame of a skin canoe, which we concluded to build. Overhauled my instruments and made some rectifications preparatory to taking an observation, etc.

23d October, Thursday: Dr. Robinson and myself, accompanied by one man, ascended the river with an intention of searching [for] the Spanish trace. At the same time we dispatched Baroney and our two hunters to kill some buffalo to obtain the skins for canoes. We ascended the river about twenty miles to a large branch on the right. Just at dusk [we] gave chase to a buffalo and were obliged to shoot nineteen balls into him before we killed him. Encamped in the fork.¹

24th October, Friday: We ascended the right branch about five miles, but could not see any sign of the Spanish trace. This is not surprising, as the river bears southwest, and they no doubt kept more to the west from the head of one branch to another. We returned, and on our way killed some prairie squirrels, or wishton-

¹ The stream was the Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas; the place of encampment was the site of modern Larned, Pawnee County. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

wishes, and nine large rattlesnakes, which frequent their villages. On our arrival, found the hunters had come in a boat one hour [before] with two buffalo and one elk skin.

25th October, Saturday: Took an observation. Passed the day in writing, and preparing for the departure of Lieutenant Wilkinson.

26th October, Sunday: Delivered out a ration of corn by way of distinction of the Sabbath. Preparing for our departure.

27th October, Monday: Delivered to Lieutenant Wilkinson letters for the General and our friends, with other papers, consisting of his instructions, traverse tables of our voyage, and a draught of our route to that place complete, in order that if we were lost and he arrived in safety we might not have made the tour without some benefit to our country. He took with him in corn and meat twenty-one days' provisions and all the necessary tools to build canoes or cabins. Launched his canoes. We concluded we would separate in the morning, he to descend [the river] and we to ascend [it] to the mountains.¹

28th October, Tuesday: As soon as possible all was in motion, my party crossing the river to the north side and Lieutenant Wilkinson launching his canoes of skins and wood. We breakfasted together and then filed off, but

¹ From the point where Pike and Wilkinson parted, the former, in charge of the main party, proceeded up the Arkansas to the site of Pueblo, Colorado.

The Southwestern Expedition

I suffered my party to march and I remained to see Lieutenant Wilkinson sail, which he did at ten o'clock, having one skin canoe, made of four buffalo skins and two elk skins; these held three men besides himself and one Osage. In his wooden canoe were one soldier, one Osage, and their baggage. One other soldier marched on shore. We parted with "God bless you" from both parties; they appeared to sail very well. In the pursuit of our party Doctor Robinson, Baroney, one soldier, and myself killed a brelaw¹ and a buffalo. Of the latter we took only his marrow bones and liver. Arrived where our men had encamped, about dusk. Distance fourteen miles.

29th October, Wednesday: Marched after breakfast and in the first hour's march passed two fires, where twenty-one Indians had recently encamped, in which party (by their paintings on the rocks) there were seven guns. Killed a buffalo, halted, made fire, and feasted on the choice pieces of meat. About noon discovered two horses feeding with a herd of buffalo. We attempted to surround them, but they soon cleared our fleetest coursers. One appeared to be an elegant horse. These were the first wild horses we had seen. Two or three hours before night, struck the Spanish road and, as it was snowing, halted and encamped the party at the first woods on the bank of the river. The Doctor and myself then forded it

¹ A badger.

Zebulon M. Pike

(the ice running very thick) in order to discover the course the Spaniards took, but owing to the many buffalo roads [we] could not ascertain it; but it appeared evident that they had halted here some time as the ground was covered with horse dung for miles around. Returned to camp. The snow fell about two inches deep and then it cleared up. Distance twelve miles.

30th October, Thursday: In the morning sent out to kill a buffalo, to have his marrow bones for breakfast, which was accomplished. After breakfast the party marched on the north side and the Doctor and myself crossed with considerable difficulty (on account of the ice) to the Spanish camp, where we took a large circuit in order to discover the Spanish trace and came in at a point of woods south of the river, where we found our party encamped.¹ We discovered, also, that the Spanish troops had marked the river up, and that a party of savages had been there not more than three days before. Killed two buffalo. Distance four miles.

31st October, Friday: Fine day. Marched at three quarters past nine o'clock on the Spanish road. Encamped,² sun an hour high, after having made sixteen miles. We observed this day a species of crystallization on the road (when the sun was high) in low places where there had been water settled. On tasting it

¹ Opposite Garfield, Pawnee County, Kansas. Coues.

² Opposite Kinsley, Edwards County, Kansas. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

found it to be salt. This gave in my mind some authenticity to the report of the prairie being covered for leagues. Discovered the trace of about twenty savages who had followed our road, and [of] horses going down the river. Killed one buffalo, one elk, one deer.

1st November, Saturday: Marched early. Just after commencing our line, heard a gun on our left. The Doctor, Baroney, and myself being in advance, and lying on the ground waiting for the party, a band of cabrie came up amongst our horses, to satisfy their curiosity. We could not resist the temptation of killing two, although we had plenty of meat. At the report of the gun they appeared astonished, and stood still until we hallowed at them to drive them away. Encamped in the evening on an island. Upon using my glass to observe the adjacent country, I observed on the prairie a herd of horses. Doctor Robinson and Baroney accompanied me to go and view them. When within a quarter of a mile they discovered us and came immediately up near us, making the earth tremble under them. This brought to my recollection a charge of cavalry. They stopped and gave us an opportunity to view them. Among them there were some very beautiful bays, blacks, and greys, and indeed of all colors. We fired at a black horse with an idea of creasing¹ him, but did not succeed.

¹ That is, of stunning the animal by placing the bullet in the neck in such position as to convey the shock to the spinal cord.

Zebulon M. Pike

They flourished round and returned again to see us, when we returned to camp.

2d November, Sunday: In the morning, for the purpose of trying the experiment, we equipped six of our fleetest coursers with riders and ropes to noose the wild horses if in our power to come among the band. They stood until they came within forty yards of them, neighing and whinnowing, when the chase began, which we continued about two miles without success. Two of our horses ran up with them [but] we could not take them. Returned to camp. I have since laughed at our folly, for taking the wild horses in that manner is scarcely ever attempted, even with the fleetest horses and most expert ropers. (See my account of wild horses and the manner of taking them in my dissertation on the province of Texas.) Marched late. River turned to north by west. Hills change to the north side. Distance $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles.¹ Killed one buffalo.

3d November, Monday: Marched at ten o'clock. Passed numerous herds of buffalo, elk, some horses, etc., all traveling south. The river bottoms, full of salt ponds; grass similar to our salt meadows. Killed one buffalo. Distance $25\frac{1}{2}$ miles.²

¹ The camp was made on the site of the town of Ford, Ford County, Kansas. Coues.

² Coues locates this camp about opposite the town of Howell near the western boundary of Ford County, Kansas.

The Southwestern Expedition

4th November, Tuesday: This day brought to our recollection the fate of our countrymen at Recovery, when defeated by the Indians in the year '91.¹ In the afternoon discovered the north side of the river to be covered with animals which, when we came to them, proved to be buffalo cows and calves. I do not think it an exaggeration to say there were 3,000 in one view. It is worthy of remark that in all the extent of country yet crossed we never saw one cow, and that now the face of the earth appeared to be covered with them. Killed one buffalo. Distance 24½ miles.²

5th November, Wednesday: Marched at our usual hour; at the end of two miles shot a buffalo and two deer and halted, which detained us so long that we foolishly concluded to halt [for] the day and kill some cows and calves which lay on the opposite side of the river. I took post on a hill and sent some horsemen over, when a scene took place which gave a lively representation of an engagement. The herd of buffalo, being divided into separate bands, covered the prairie with dust, and first charged on the one side, then to the other, as the pursuit of the horsemen impelled them. The report and smoke from the guns added to the pleasure of the scene, which in part compensated for our detention.

¹ The allusion is to the defeat of General St. Clair's army by the northwestern Indians.

² About five miles west of Ingalls, Gray County, Kansas. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

6th November, Thursday: Marched early, but [were] detained two or three hours by the cows which we killed. The cow buffalo was equal to any meat I ever saw, and we feasted sumptuously on the choice morsels. I will not attempt to describe the droves of animals we now saw on our route. Suffice it to say that the face of the prairie was covered with them on each side of the river; their numbers exceeded imagination. Distance sixteen miles.¹

7th November, Friday: Marched early. The herbage being very poor, [we] concluded to lay by on the morrow in order to recruit our horses. Killed three cow buffalo, one calf, two wolves, [and] one brelaw. Distance eighteen miles.²

8th November, Saturday: Our horses being very much jaded and our situation very eligible, we halted all day. Jerked meat, mended mockinsons, etc.

9th November, Sunday: Marched early. At twelve o'clock struck the Spanish road (which had been on the outside of us)³ which appeared to be considerably augmented, and on our arrival at the camp found it to consist of ninety-six fires, from which a reasonable conclusion might be drawn that there were from 600 to 700 men. We this day found the face of the

¹ This camp was some three or four miles east of Garden City, Kansas. Coues.

² Near the boundary between Finney and Kearney counties, Kansas. Coues.

³ That is, Pike's route had been closer to the river than the trail left by the Spaniards.

The Southwestern Expedition

country considerably changed, being hilly, with springs. Passed numerous herds of buffalo and some horses. Distance twenty-seven miles.¹

10th November, Monday: The hills increased [and] the banks of the river [were] covered with groves of young cottonwood; the river itself much narrower and crooked. Our horses growing weak, two gave out, bring them along empty. Cut down trees at night for them to browse on. Killed one buffalo. Distance twenty miles.²

11th November, Tuesday: Marched at the usual hour. Passed two old, and one last summer, camps which had belonged to the savages, and, we suppose, Tetaus. Passed a Spanish camp where it appeared they remained some days, as we conjectured to lay up meat previously to entering the Tetau country, as the buffalo evidently began to grow much less numerous. Finding the impossibility of performing the voyage in the time proposed, I determined to spare no pains to accomplish every object, even should it oblige me to spend another winter in the desert. Killed one buffalo, one brelaw. Distance twenty-four miles.³

12th November, Wednesday: Was obliged to leave two horses, which entirely gave out.

¹ This camp was in the vicinity of Harland, Kearney County, Kansas. Coues.

² Camp near Syracuse, Hamilton County, Kansas. Coues.

³ The encampment was on or near the Kansas-Colorado state boundary. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

Missed the Spanish road. Killed one buffalo. Distance twenty miles.

13th November, Thursday: We marched at the usual hour. The river banks begin to be entirely covered with woods on both sides, but no other species than cottonwood. Discovered very fresh signs of Indians, and one of our hunters informed me he saw a man on horseback ascending a ravine on our left. Discovered signs of war parties ascending the river. Wounded several buffalo. Killed one turkey, the first we have seen since we left the Pawnees.¹

14th November, Friday: In the morning Doctor Robinson, one man, and myself went up the ravine, on which the man was supposed to have been seen, but could make no important discovery. Marched at two o'clock. Passed a point of red rocks and one large creek. Distance ten miles.

15th November, Saturday: Marched early. Passed two deep creeks and many high points of the rocks, also large herds of buffalo. At two o'clock in the afternoon I thought I could distinguish a mountain to our right, which appeared like a small blue cloud. Viewed it with the spy glass and was still more confirmed in my conjecture, yet only communicated it to Doctor Robinson, who was in front with me, but in half an hour they appeared in full view before us. When our small party arrived on the

¹ The night's camp was "within a mile or two" of Lamar, Colorado. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

hill they with one accord gave three cheers to the Mexican mountains. Their appearance can easily be imagined by those who have crossed the Alleghanies; but their sides were whiter, as if covered with snow or a white stone. Those were a spur of the grand western chain of mountains which divides the waters of the Pacific from those of the Atlantic Ocean, and it divided the waters which empty into the bay of the Holy Spirit from those of the Mississippi as the Alleghanies do those which discharge themselves into the latter river and the Atlantic. They appear to present a natural boundary between the provinces of Louisiana and New Mexico, and would be a defined and natural boundary. Before evening we discovered a fork¹ on the south side bearing S. 25° W., and as the Spanish troops appeared to have borne up it we encamped on its banks about one mile from its confluence, that we might make further discoveries on the morrow. Killed three buffalo. Distance twenty-four miles.

16th November, Sunday: After ascertaining that the Spanish troops had ascended the right branch, or main river, we marched at two o'clock P. M. The Arkansaw appeared at this place to be much more navigable than below, where we first struck it; and from any impediment I have yet discovered in the river I would not hesitate to embark in February at its

¹ Purgatory River.

Zebulon M. Pike

mouth and ascend to the Mexican mountains with crafts properly constructed. Distance $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

17th November, Monday: Marched at our usual hour. Pushed [on] with an idea of arriving at the mountains, but found at night no visible difference in their appearance, from what we did yesterday. One of our horses gave out and was left in a ravine, not being able to ascend the hill, but I sent back for him and had him brought to the camp. Distance $23\frac{1}{2}$ miles.¹

18th November, Tuesday: As we discovered fresh signs of the savages we concluded it best to stop and kill some meat, for fear we should get into a country where we could not kill game. Sent out the hunters; I walked, myself, to an eminence from whence I took the courses to the different mountains, and a small sketch of their appearance. In the evening found the hunters had killed without mercy, having slain seventeen buffalo and wounded at least twenty more.

19th November, Wednesday: Having several buffalo brought in, [I] gave out sufficient to last this month. I found it expedient to remain and dry the meat, as our horses were getting very weak, and the one died which was brought up on the eighteenth. Had a general feast of marrow bones, 136 of them furnishing the repast.

20th November, Thursday: Marched at our usual hour, but as our horses' loads were considerably augmented by the death of one horse

¹ Camp in the vicinity of Rocky Ford. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

and the addition of 900 pounds of meat, we moved slowly and made only eighteen miles.¹ Killed two buffalo and took some choice pieces.

21st November, Friday: Marched at our usual hour. Passed two Spanish camps within three miles of each other. We again discovered the tracks of two men who had ascended the river yesterday. This caused us to move with caution, but at the same time increased our anxiety to discover them. The river was certainly as navigable here (and I think much more so) as [it was] some hundred miles below, which I suppose arises from its flowing through a long course of sandy soil, which must absorb much of the water and render it shoaler below than above, near the mountains. Distance twenty-one miles.

22d November, Saturday: Marched at our usual hour, and with rather more caution than usual. After having marched about five miles on the prairie, we descended into the bottom, the front only when Baroney cried out *Voila un Savage*, when we observed a number running from the woods towards us. We advanced to them and on turning my head to the left I observed several running on the hill, as it were to surround us, one with a stand of colors. This caused a momentary halt, but perceiving those in front reaching out their hands, and without arms, we again advanced. They met us with open arms, crowding round to touch and

¹ This camp was near Rockdale, Colorado. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

embrace us. They appeared so anxious that I dismounted my horse, and in a moment a fellow had mounted him and was off. I then observed [that] the Doctor and Baroney were in the same predicament. The Indians were embracing the soldiers; after some time tranquillity was so far restored (they having returned our horses all safe) as to enable us to learn they were a war party from the grand Pawnees who had been in search of Tetaus, but not finding them [they] were now on their return. An unsuccessful war party on their return home are always ready to embrace an opportunity of gratifying their disappointed vengeance on the first persons whom they meet. We made for the woods and unloaded our horses; when the two partisans endeavored to arrange the party it was with great difficulty that they got them tranquil, and not until there had been a bow or two bent on the occasion. When [they were] in some order we found them to be sixty warriors, half with firearms and half with bows, arrows, and lances. Our party was sixteen total. In a short time they were arranged in a ring and I took my seat between the two partisans. Our colors were placed opposite each other [and] the utensils for smoaking, etc., were paraded on a small seat before us; thus far all was well. I then ordered half a carrot of tobacco, one dozen knives, sixty fire-steels and sixty flints to be presented them. They demanded ammunition,

The Southwestern Expedition

corn, blankets, kettles, etc., all of which they were refused, notwithstanding the pressing instances of my interpreter to accord to some points. The pipes yet lay unmoved, as if they were undetermined whether to treat us as friends or enemies; but after some time we were presented with a kettle of water, [and we] drank, smoked, and ate together. During this time Doctor Robinson was standing up to observe their actions, in order that we might be ready to commence hostilities as soon as they. They now took their presents and commenced distributing them, but some malcontents threw them away by way of contempt. We began to load our horses when they encircled us and commenced stealing everything they could. Finding it was difficult to preserve my pistols, I mounted my horse, when I found myself frequently surrounded, during which [time] some were endeavoring to steal the pistols. The Doctor was equally engaged in another quarter, and all the soldiers in their positions in taking things from them. One having stolen my tomahawk, I informed the chief, but he paid no respect except to reply that "they were pitiful." Finding this [was his attitude] I determined to protect ourselves as far as was in my power, and the affair began to take a serious aspect. I ordered my men to take their arms and separate themselves from the savages, at the same time declaring to them I would kill the first man who touched our baggage, on which they com-

Zebulon M. Pike

menced filing off immediately. We marched about the same time and found they had made out to steal one sword, [one] tomahawk, [one] broad axe, five canteens, and sundry other small articles. After our leaving them when I reflected on the subject, I felt myself sincerely mortified that the smallness of my number [had] obliged me thus to submit to the insults of a lawless banditti, it being the first time a savage ever took anything from me with the least appearance of force. After encamping at night the Doctor and myself went about one mile back and way-laid the road, determined in case we discovered any of the rascals pursuing us to steal our horses to kill two at least; but after waiting behind some logs until some time in the night and discovering no person, we returned to camp. Distance seventeen miles. Killed two buffalo and one deer.

23d November, Sunday: Marched at ten o'clock. At one o'clock came to the third fork on the south side and encamped at night in the point of the grand forks.¹ As the river appeared to be dividing itself into many small branches, and of course must be near its extreme source, I concluded to put the party in a defensible situation and ascend the north fork, to the high point² of the blue mountain, which we conceived would be one day's march, in order to be enabled from its pinnacle to lay

¹ On the site of the city of Pueblo, Colorado.

✓ ² Pike's Peak.

The Southwestern Expedition

down the various branches and position of the country. Distance nineteen miles. Killed five buffalo.

24th November, Monday: Early in the morning cut down fourteen logs and put up a breast work five feet high on three sides and the other was thrown on the river. After giving the [men] necessary orders for their government during my absence, in case of our not returning, we marched at one o'clock with an idea of arriving at the foot of the mountain, but found ourselves obliged to take up our night's lodging under a single cedar, which we found in the prairie, without water and extremely cold. Our party, besides myself, consisted of Doctor Robinson [and] Privates Miller and Brown. Distance twelve miles.

25th November, Tuesday: Marched early, with an expectation of ascending the mountain, but were only able to encamp at its base, after passing over many small hills covered with cedars and pitch-pines. Our encampment was on a creek where we found no water for several miles from the mountain, but near its base found springs sufficient. Took a meridional observation, and the altitude of the mountain. Killed two buffalo. Distance twenty-two miles.

26th November, Wednesday: Expecting to return to our camp that evening, we left all our blankets and provisions at the foot of the mountain. Killed a deer of a new species and

Zebulon M. Pike

hung his skin on a tree with some meat. We commenced ascending [but] found it very difficult, being obliged to climb up rocks, sometimes almost perpendicular; after marching all day we encamped in a cave without blankets, victuals, or water. We had a fine clear sky whilst it was snowing at the bottom. On the side of the mountain we found only yellow and pitch-pine. Some distance up we found buffalo, [and] higher still the new species of deer and pheasants.

27th November, Thursday: Arose hungry, dry, and extremely sore from the inequality of the rocks on which we had lain all night, but were amply compensated for [our] toil by the sublimity of the prospect below. The unbounded prairie was overhung with clouds, which appeared like the ocean in a storm; wave piled on wave and foaming, whilst the sky was perfectly clear where we were. Commenced our march up the mountain and in about one hour arrived at the summit of this chain. Here we found the snow middle deep; no sign of beast or bird inhabiting this region. The thermometer, which stood at 9° above zero at the foot of the mountain, here fell to 4° below zero. The summit of the Grand Peak,¹ which was entirely bare of vegetation and covered

¹Pike and his companions had ascended Cheyenne Mountain. The "Grand Peak" beyond them was, of course, modern Pike's Peak which Pike, contrary to popular belief, never set foot upon.

The Southwestern Expedition

with snow, now appeared at the distance of fifteen or sixteen miles from us, and as high again as what we had ascended, and would have taken a whole day's march to have arrived at its base, when I believe no human being could have ascended to its pinnacle. This, with the condition of my soldiers, who had only light overalls on and no stockings and [were in] every way ill provided to endure the inclemency of the region, [and] the bad prospect of killing anything to subsist on, with the further detention of two or three days which it must occasion, determined us to return. The clouds from below had now ascended the mountain and entirely enveloped the summit, on which rests eternal snow. We descended by a long deep ravine with much less difficulty than [we had] contemplated. Found all our baggage safe, but the provisions all destroyed. It began to snow and we sought shelter under the side of a projecting rock, where we all four made a meal on one partridge and a piece of deer's ribs the ravens had left us, being the first we had eaten in that forty-eight hours.

28th November, Friday: Marched at nine o'clock. Kept straight down the creek to avoid the hills. At half past one o'clock shot two buffalo, when we made the first full meal we had made in three days. Encamped in a valley under a shelving rock. The land here very rich and covered with old Tetau camps.

29th November, Saturday: Marched, after a

Zebulon M. Pike

short repast, and arrived at our camp before night. Found all well.

30th November, Sunday: Marched at eleven o'clock, it snowing very fast, but my impatience to be moving would not permit my lying still at that camp. The Doctor, Baroney, and myself went to view a Tetau encampment, which appeared to be about two years old; and from their having cut down so large a quantity of trees to support their houses, [we] concluded there must have been at least one thousand souls. Passed several more in the course of the day, also one Spanish camp. Distance fifteen miles. Killed two deer. This day came to the first cedar and pine.

1st December, Monday: The storm still continuing with violence, we remained encamped. The snow by night [was] one foot deep. Our horses [were] obliged to scrape it away to obtain their miserable pittance, and to increase their misfortunes the poor animals were attacked by the magpies, who, attracted by the scent of their sore backs, alighted on them and in defiance of their wincing and kicking picked many places quite raw. The difficulty of procuring food rendered those birds so bold as to light on our men's arms and eat meat out of their hands. One of our hunter's out, but killed nothing.

2d December, Tuesday: It cleared off in the night and in the morning the thermometer stood at 17° below zero (Reaumur), being three

The Southwestern Expedition

times as cold as any morning we had yet experienced. We killed an old buffalo on the opposite side of the river, which here was so deep as to swim [our] horses. Marched, and found it necessary to cross to the north side about two miles up, as the ridge joined the river. The ford was a good one, but the ice ran very bad and two of the men got their feet frozen before we could get accommodated with fire, etc. Secured some of our old buffalo and continued our march. The country being very rugged and hilly, one of our horses took a freak in his head and turned back, which occasioned three of our rear-guard to lie out all night. I was very apprehensive they might perish on the open prairie. Distance thirteen miles.

3d December, Wednesday: The weather moderating to 3° below zero, our absentees joined, one with his feet frozen, but were not able to bring up the horse. Sent two men back on horseback. The hardships of last voyage¹ had now begun, and had the climate only been as severe as the climate then was some of the men must have perished, for they had no winter clothing. I myself wore cotton overalls, for I had not calculated on being out in that inclement season of the year. Dr. Robinson and myself, with assistants, went out and took the altitude of the north mountain,² on the base of

¹ The allusion is to the upper Mississippi River expedition of 1805-1806.

² Pike's Peak.

Zebulon M. Pike

a mile, after which, together with Sparks, we endeavored to kill a cow, but without effect. Killed two bulls, that the men might use pieces of their hides for mockinsons. Left Sparks. On our return to camp found the men had got back with the strayed horse, but too late to march.

4th December, Thursday: Marched about five; took up Sparks, who had succeeded in killing a cow. Killed two buffalo and six turkeys. Distance twenty miles.¹

5th December, Friday: Marched at our usual hour. Passed one very bad place of falling rocks; had to carry our loads. Encamped on the main branch of the river near the entrance of the south mountain. In the evening walked up to the mountain. Heard fourteen guns at camp during my absence, which alarmed me considerably. Returned as quickly as possible, and found that the cause of my alarm was their shooting turkeys. Killed two buffalo and nine turkeys. Distance eighteen miles.²

6th December, Saturday: Sent out three different parties to hunt the Spanish trace, but without success. The Doctor and myself followed the river into the mountain, which was bounded on each side by the rocks of the mountain, 200 feet high, leaving a small valley of 50

¹ Coues locates this camp opposite the town of Florence, Colorado.

² Camp within the limits of Cañon City, Colorado.

The Southwestern Expedition

or 60 feet.¹ Killed two buffalo, two deer, one turkey.

7th December, Sunday: We again dispatched parties in search of the trace. One party discovered it on the other side of the river, and followed it into the valley of the river at the entrance of the mountain, where they met two parties who were returning from exploring the two branches of the river in the mountains: of which they reported to have ascended until the river was merely a brook, bounded on both sides with perpendicular rocks, impracticable for horses ever to pass them. They then recrossed the river to the north side and discovered (as they supposed) that the Spanish troops had ascended a dry valley to the right. On their return they found some rock salt, samples of which were brought me. We determined to march [on] the morrow to the entrance of the valley, there to examine the salt and the road. Killed one wildcat.

8th December, Monday: On examining the trace found yesterday, conceived it to have been only a reconnoitering party dispatched from the main body, and on analyzing the rock salt found it to be strongly impregnated with sulphur. There were some very strong sulphurated springs at its foot. Returned to camp. Took with me Dr. Robinson and Miller and descended the river, in order to discover

¹ Pike had entered the Royal Gorge, now traversed by the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad.

Zebulon M. Pike

certainly if the whole party had come by this route. Descended about seven miles on the south side. Saw great quantities of turkeys and deer. Killed one deer.

9th December, Tuesday: Before we marched, killed a fine buck at our camp as he was passing. Found the Spanish camp about four miles below, and from every observation we could make conceived they had all ascended the river. Returned to camp,¹ where we arrived about two o'clock. Found all well; would have moved immediately, but four men were out reconnoitring. Killed three deer.

10th December, Wednesday: Marched, and found the road over the mountain to be excellent. Encamped on a dry ravine. Obligated to melt snow for ourselves and horses, and as there was nothing else for the latter to eat, gave them one pint of corn each. Killed one buffalo.

11th December, Thursday: Marched at ten o'clock, and in one mile struck a branch of the Arkansaw on which the supposed Spaniards had encamped where there was both water and grass. Kept up this branch,² but were frequently embarrassed as to the trace. At three o'clock P. M., having no sign of it, halted and encamped, and went out to search it. Found it about one mile to the right. Distance fifteen miles.

¹ Still on the site of Cañon City.

² Identified by Coues as Oil Creek, which rises to the westward of Pike's Peak and flows south about fifty miles to its junction with the Arkansas a few miles below Cañon City.

The Southwestern Expedition

12th December, Friday: Marched at 9 o'clock. Continued up the same branch as yesterday. The ridges on our right and left appeared to grow lower, but mountains appeared on our flanks, through the intervals, covered with snow. Owing to the weakness of our horses made only twelve miles.

13th December, Saturday: Marched at the usual hour and passed large springs and the supposed Spanish camp, and at twelve o'clock, a dividing ridge, and immediately fell on a small branch running N. 20° W. There being no appearance of wood, we left it and the Spanish Trace to our right and made for the hills to encamp. After the halt I took my gun and went out to see what discovery I could make and after marching about two miles north fell on a river forty yards wide, frozen over, which, after some investigation, I found ran northeast. This was the occasion of much surprise, as we were taught to expect to have met with the branches of the Red River, which should run southeast. *Query:* Must it not be the headwaters of the river Platte?¹ If so the Missouri must run much more west than is generally represented, for the Platte is a small river, by no means presenting an expectation of so extensive a course. Distance eighteen miles. One horse gave out and was left.

14th December, Sunday: Marched. Struck

¹ Pike had in fact reached the South Platte, at Eleven Mile Cañon. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

the river, ascended it four miles, and encamped on the north side. The prairie, being about two miles wide, was covered at least six miles, on the banks of the river, with horse dung and the marks of Indian camps, which had been [made] since the cold weather, as was evident by the fires which were in the center of the lodges. The sign made by their horses was astonishing, and would have taken a thousand horses some months. As it was impossible to say which course the Spaniards pursued, amongst this multiplicity of signs, we halted early and discovered that they or the savages had ascended the river. We determined to pursue them. As the geography of the country had turned out to be so different from our expectation, we were somewhat at a loss which course to pursue, unless we attempted to cross the snow-capped mountains to the southeast of us, which was almost impossible. Bursted one of our rifles, which was a great loss, as it made three guns which had bursted, [besides] the five which had been broken on the march, and one of my men was now armed with my sword and pistols. Killed two buffalo.

15th December, Monday: After repairing our guns we marched, but were obliged to leave another horse. Ascended the river, both sides of which were covered with old Indian camps, at which we found corn cobs. This induced us to believe that those savages, although erratic, must remain long enough in one posi-

The Southwestern Expedition

tion to cultivate this grain, or to obtain it of the Spaniards. From their sign they must have been extremely numerous, and [have] possessed vast numbers of horses. My poor fellows suffered extremely with cold, being almost naked. Distance ten miles.¹

16th December, Tuesday: Marched up the river about two miles and killed a buffalo, when, finding no road up the stream, we halted and dispatched parties different courses. The Doctor and myself ascended high enough to enable me to lay down the course of the river into the mountains. From a high ridge we reconnoitered the adjacent country and concluded, putting the Spanish trace out of the question, to bear our course southwest, for the head of Red River. One of our party found a large camp, which had been occupied by at least 3,000 Indians, with a large cross in the middle. *Query:* Are those people Catholics?

17th December, Wednesday: Marched, and on striking a left-hand fork of the river we had left, found it to be the main branch. Ascended it some distance but finding it to bear too much to the north, we encamped² about two miles from it for the purpose of benefiting by its water. Distance fifteen miles.

18th December, Thursday: Marched, and

¹Camp in the vicinity of Sulphur Springs. Coues.

²About two miles west of the town of Hartzell. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

crossed the mountain which lay southwest of us. In a distance of seven miles arrived at a small spring. Some of our lads observed they supposed it to be Red River, to which I then gave very little credit. On entering a gap in the next mountain, came past an excellent spring which formed a fine creek, which we followed through narrows in the mountains for about six miles. Found many evacuated camps of Indians, the latest yet seen. After pointing out the ground for the encampment, the Doctor and myself went on to make discoveries, as was our usual custom, and in about four miles' march we struck what we supposed to be Red River,¹ which here was about twenty-five yards wide, ran with great rapidity, and was full of rocks. We returned to the party with the news, which gave general pleasure. Determined to remain a day or two in order to examine the source. Distance eighteen miles. Snowing.

19th December, Friday: Marched down the creek near the opening of the prairie and encamped.² Sent out parties hunting, etc., but had no success. Still snowing and stormy; making preparations to take an observation.

20th December, Saturday: Having found a fine place for pasture on the river, sent our horses down to it with a guard; also [sent] three parties out hunting, all of whom returned

¹ The Arkansas River.

² Not far from Buena Vista, Chaffee County. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

without success. Took an observation. As there was no prospect of killing any game it was necessary that the party should leave that place. I therefore determined that the Doctor and Baroney should descend the river in the morning, that myself and two men would ascend [it], and the rest of the party [would] descend after the Doctor until they obtained provision and could wait for me.

21st December, Sunday: The Doctor and Baroney marched. The party remained for me to take a meridional observation, after which we separated. Myself and the two men who accompanied me (Mountjoy and Miller) ascended twelve miles and encamped on the north side, the river continuing close to the north mountain and running through a narrow rocky channel, in some places not more than twenty feet wide and at least ten feet deep. Its banks [were] bordered by yellow pine, cedars, etc.

22d December, Monday: Marched up [the river] thirteen miles to a large point of the mountain from whence we had a view [of] at least thirty-five miles, to where the river entered the mountains, it being at that place not more than ten or fifteen feet wide and, properly speaking, only a brook. From this place, after taking the course and estimating the distance, we returned to our camp of last evening. Killed one turkey and a hare.

23d December, Tuesday: Marched early and at two o'clock P.M. discovered the trace of

Zebulon M. Pike

the party on the opposite side of the river. Forded it, although extremely cold, and marched until some time in the night, when we arrived at the second night's encampment of the party. Our clothing was frozen stiff, and we ourselves were considerably benumbed.

24th December, Wednesday: The party's provision extended only to the twenty-third, and their orders [were] not to halt until they killed some game, and then wait for us. Consequently, they might have been considerably advanced. About 11 o'clock met Doctor Robinson on a prairie, who informed me that he and Baroney had been absent from the party two days without killing anything, also without eating, but that over night they had killed four buffalo, and that he was in search of the men. [I] suffered the two lads with me to go to the camp where the meat was, as we had also been nearly two days without eating. The Doctor and myself pursued the trace and found them encamped on the river bottom.¹ Sent out horses for the meat. Shortly after, Sparks arrived and informed us he had killed four cows. Thus from being in a starving condition we had eight beeves in our camp. We now again found ourselves all assembled together on Christmas eve and appeared generally to be content, although all the refreshment we had to celebrate that day

¹In the immediate vicinity of Brown Cañon, about seven miles above Salida. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

with was buffalo meat, without salt or any other thing whatever. My little excursion up the river was in order to establish the geography of the sources of the supposed Red River. As I well knew the indefatigable researches of Doctor Hunter, Dunbar, and Freeman had left nothing unnoticed in the extent of their voyage up said river, I determined that its upper branches should be equally well explored, as in this voyage I had already ascertained the sources of the Osage¹ and White¹ rivers, been round the head of the Kans River, and on the headwaters of the Platte.¹

25th December, Thursday: It being stormy weather and having meat to dry, I concluded to lie by this day. Here I must take the liberty of observing that in this situation the hardships and privations we underwent were on this day brought more fully to our mind: having been accustomed to some degree of relaxation and extra enjoyments; but here, 800 miles from the frontiers of our country, in the most inclement season of the year, not one person clothed for the winter, many without blankets (having been obliged to cut them up for socks, etc.), and now lying down at night on the snow or wet ground, one side burning whilst the other was pierced with the cold wind—this was in part the situation of the party, whilst some

¹That is, the Little Osage, the Neosho, and the South Platte.

Zebulon M. Pike

were endeavoring to make a miserable substitute of raw buffalo hide for shoes, etc. I will not speak of diet, as I conceive that to be beneath the serious consideration of a man on a voyage of such nature. We spent the day as agreeably as could be expected from men in our situation. Caught a bird of a new species, having made a trap for him.

26th December, Friday: Marched at two o'clock and made $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the entrance of the mountains.¹ On this piece of prairie the river spread considerably, and formed several small islands. A large stream enters from the south. As my boy and some others were sick, I omitted pitching our tent in order that they might have it, in consequence of which we were completely covered with snow on top, as well as that part on which we lay.

27th December, Saturday: Marched over an extremely rough road. Our horses received frequent falls and cut themselves considerably on the rocks. From there being no roads of buffalo or sign of horses, I am convinced that neither those animals nor the aborigines of the country ever take this route to go from the source of the river out of the mountains, but that they must cross one of the chains to the right or left, and find a smoother track to the lower country. Were obliged to unload our

¹The party descended the Arkansas from the camp at Brown Cañon to the mouth of the South Arkansas River, below Salida. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

horses and carry the baggage at several places. Distance $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

28th December, Sunday: Marched over an open space and from the appearance before us concluded we were going out of the mountains, but at night encamped at the entrance of the most perpendicular precipices on both sides, through which the river ran and our course lay. Distance sixteen miles.

29th December, Monday: Marched, but owing to the extreme ruggedness of the road made but five miles. Saw one of a new species of animals on the mountain. Ascended it to kill him, but did not succeed. Finding the impossibility of getting along with the horses, made one sled, which with the men of three horses, carries their load.¹

30th December, Tuesday: Marched, but at half past one o'clock were obliged to halt and send back for the sled loads, as they [the men] had broken it and could not proceed, owing to the waters running over the ice. Distance eight miles. Crossed our horses twice on the ice.

31st December, Wednesday: Marched; had frequently to cross the river on the ice; [the] horses falling down, we were obliged to pull them over on the ice. The river turned so much to the north as almost induced us to believe it was the Arkansaw. Distance $10\frac{3}{4}$ miles.²

¹ That is, the men dragged the loads of three horses on the sled.

² This camp was in the vicinity of Spikebuck. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

1st January, 1807, Thursday: The Doctor and one man marched early, in order to precede the party until they should kill a supply of provisions. We had great difficulty in getting our horses along, some of the poor animals having nearly killed themselves falling on the ice. Found on the way one of the mountain rams which the Doctor and Brown had killed and left in the road. Skinned it, with horns, etc. At night ascended a mountain and discovered a prairie ahead about eight miles, the news of which gave great joy to the party.

2d January, Friday: Labored all day, but made only one mile, many of our horses much wounded in falling on the rocks. Provision[s] growing short, left Stout and Miller with two loads to come on with a sled on the ice, which was on the water in some of the coves. Finding it almost impossible to proceed any farther with the horses by the bed of the river, [we] ascended the mountain and immediately after were again obliged to descend an almost perpendicular side of the mountain, in effecting which one horse fell down the precipice and bruised himself so miserably that I conceived it mercy to cause the poor animal to be shot. Many others were nearly killed with falls received. Left two more men with loads, and tools to make sleds. The two men we had left in the morning had passed us.

3d January, Saturday: Left two more men to make sleds and come on. We pursued the

The Southwestern Expedition

river, and with great difficulty made six miles by frequently cutting roads on the ice and covering it with earth, in order to go round precipices, etc. The men left in the morning encamped with us at night, but those of the day before, we saw nothing of. This day two of the horses became senseless from the bruises received on the rocks, and were obliged to be left.

4th January, Sunday: We made the prairie about three o'clock, when I detached Mr. Baroney and two soldiers with the horses, in order to find some practicable way for them to get out of the mountains light. I then divided the others into two parties of two men each, to make sleds and bring on the baggage. I determined to continue down the river alone until I could kill some sustenance and find the two men who left us on the second Inst. or the Doctor and his companion, for we had no provision and everyone had then to depend on his own exertion for safety and subsistence. Thus we were divided into eight different parties, viz.: 1st, the Doctor and his companion; 2d, the two men with the first sled; 3d, the interpreter and the two men with the horses; 4th, myself; 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, two men each with sleds at different distances; all of whom, except the last, had orders, if they killed any game, to secure some part in a conspicuous place for their companions in the rear. I marched on about five miles on the river, which was one continued fall through a narrow

Zebulon M. Pike

channel¹ and immense cliffs on both sides. Near night I came to a place where the rocks were perpendicular on both sides, and no ice (except a narrow border) on the water. I began to look about in order to discover which way the Doctor and his companion had managed, and to find what had become of the two lads with the first sled, when I discovered one of the latter climbing up the side of the rocks. I called to him [and] he and his companion immediately joined me. They said they had not known whether we were before or in the rear; that they had eaten nothing for the last two days; and that this night they had intended to have boiled a deer-skin to subsist on. We at length discovered a narrow ravine, where was the trace of the Doctor and his companion. As the water had ran down it and frozen hard it was one continued sheet of ice. We ascended it with the utmost difficulty and danger, loaded with the baggage. On the summit of the first ridge we found an encampment of the Doctor, and where they had killed a deer, but they had now [left] no meat. He afterwards informed me that they had left the greatest part of it hanging on a tree but supposed the birds had destroyed it. I left the boys to bring up the remainder of the baggage, and went out in order to kill some subsistence. Wounded a deer, but the darkness of the night approaching, could not find him,

¹ Pike was in the Royal Gorge, the "grand cañon" of the Arkansas.

The Southwestern Expedition

when I returned hungry, weary, and dry, and had only snow to supply the calls of nature. Distance eight miles.

5th January, Monday: I went out in the morning to hunt whilst the two lads were bringing up some of their loads still left at the foot of the mountain. Wounded several deer but was surprised to find I killed none and on examining my gun discovered her bent, owing, as I suppose, to some fall on the ice or rocks. Shortly after [this I] received a fall on the side of a hill which broke her off by the breach. This put me into despair, as I [had] calculated on it as my grandest resource for [the] great part of my party. Returned to my companions sorely fatigued and hungry. I then took a double-barrel gun and left them, with assurances that the first animal I killed, I would return with part for their relief. About ten o'clock rose [surmounted] the highest summit of the mountain,¹ when the unbounded space of the prairies again presented themselves to my view and from some distant peaks I immediately recognized it to be the outlet of the Arkansaw, which we had left nearly one month since! This was a great mortification, but at the same time I consoled myself with the knowledge I had acquired of the source of the La Platte and Arkansaw rivers, with the river to the north-west, supposed to be the Pierre Jaun,² which

¹Noonan Mountain. Coues.

²The Yellowstone, which was frequently called Roche Jaune. Pike was, of course, mistaken in this identification.

Zebulon M. Pike

scarcely any person but a madman would ever purposely attempt to trace any farther than the entrance of those mountains, which had hitherto secured their sources from the scrutinizing eye of civilized man.

I arrived at the foot of the mountain and bank of the river in the afternoon and at the same time discovered, on the other shore, Baroney with the horses. They had found quite an eligible pass and had killed one buffalo and some deer. We proceeded to our old camp,¹ which we had left the tenth of December, and reoccupied it. Saw the traces of the Doctor and his companion, but could not discover their retreat.

This was my birthday and most fervently did I hope never to pass another so miserably. Distance seven miles. Fired a gun off as a signal for the Doctor.

6th January, Tuesday: Dispatched the two soldiers back with some provision[s] to meet the first lads and assist them on, and the interpreter[out] hunting. About eight o'clock the Doctor came in, having seen some of the men. He had been confined to the camp for one or two days by a vertigo which proceeded from some berries he had eaten on the mountains. His companion brought down six deer, which they had at their camp. Thus we again began to be out of danger of starving. In the afternoon some of the men arrived, and part were imme-

¹ On the site of Cañon City.

The Southwestern Expedition

diately returned with provisions, etc. Killed three deer.

7th January, Wednesday: Sent more men back to assist in the rear and to carry the poor fellows provisions; at the same time kept Baroney and one man hunting. Killed three deer.

8th January, Thursday: Some of the different parties arrived. Put one man to stocking my rifle; others sent back to assist up the rear. Killed two deer.

9th January, Friday: The whole party was once more joined together, when we felt comparatively happy, notwithstanding the great mortification I experienced at having been so egregiously deceived as to the Red River. I now felt at considerable loss how to proceed, as any idea of services at that time from my horses was entirely preposterous. Thus, after various plans formed and rejected, and the most mature deliberation, I determined to build a small place for defense and deposit and leave part of the baggage, horses, my interpreter, and one man, and with the balance, our packs of Indian presents, ammunition, tools, etc., on our backs cross the mountains on foot, find the Red River, and then send back a party to conduct their horses and baggage by the most eligible route we could discover, by which time the horses would be so recovered as to be able to endure the fatigues of the march. In consequence of this determination some were

Zebulon M. Pike

put to constructing the blockhouses, some to hunting, some to taking care of horses, etc., etc. I, myself, made preparations to pursue a course of observations which would enable me to ascertain the latitude and longitude of that situation, which I conceived to be an important one. Killed three deer.

10th January, Saturday: Killed five deer; took equal altitudes, angular distances of two stars, etc., but do not now recollect which. Killed three deer.

11th January, Sunday: Ascertained the latitude and took the angular distances of some stars. Killed four deer.

12th January, Monday: Preparing the baggage for a march by separating it, etc. Observations continued.

13th January, Tuesday: Weighed out each man's pack. This day I obtained the angle between the sun and moon, which I conceived the most correct way I possessed of ascertaining the longitude, as an immersion of Jupiter's satellites could not now be obtained. Killed four deer.

14th January, Wednesday: We marched our party, consisting of twelve soldiers, the Doctor, and myself, each of us carrying forty-five pounds and as much provision as he thought proper, which, with arms, etc., made, on an average, seventy pounds, leaving Baroney and one man, Patrick Smith.

We crossed the first ridge, leaving the main

The Southwestern Expedition

branch of the river to the north of us, and struck on the south fork,¹ on which we encamped, intending to pursue it through the mountains, as its course was more southerly. The Doctor killed one deer. Distance thirteen miles.

15th January, Thursday: Followed up this branch and passed the main ridge of what I term the Blue Mountains. Halted early. The Doctor, myself, and one hunter went out with our guns; each killed a deer and brought them into camp.² Distance nineteen miles.

16th January, Friday: Marched up the creek all day. Encamped³ early as it was snowing. I went out to hunt but killed nothing. Deer on the hill; the mountains lessening. Distance eighteen miles.

17th January, Saturday: Marched about four miles when the great White Mountain⁴ presented itself before us, in sight of which we had been for more than one month, and through which we supposed lay the long sought Red River. We now left the creek⁵ on the north of us, and bore away more east[erly] to a low place in the mountains. About sunset we came to the edge of a prairie which bounded the foot

¹ Grape Creek. Coues.

² Probably in the vicinity of Soda Springs or Grape Station. Coues.

³ About six or eight miles due north of Silver Cliff. Coues.

⁴ The Sangre de Cristo range. Coues.

⁵ That is, Grape Creek.

Zebulon M. Pike

of the mountain, and as there was no wood or water where we were and the woods from the skirts of the mountains appeared to be at no great distance, I thought proper to march for it. In the middle of said prairie crossed the creek, which now bore east. Here we all got our feet wet. The night commenced extremely cold. When we halted at the woods, at eight o'clock, for encampment, after getting [our] fires made we discovered that the feet of nine of our men were frozen, and to add to the misfortune both of those whom we called hunters [were] among the number. This night we had no provision. Reaumur's thermometer stood at $18\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ below zero. Distance twenty-eight miles.

18th January, Sunday: We started two of the men least injured. The Doctor and myself, who fortunately were untouched by the frost, also went out to hunt something to preserve existence. Near evening we wounded a buffalo with three balls but had the mortification to see him run off notwithstanding. We concluded it was useless to go home to add to the general gloom, and went amongst some rocks, where we encamped and sat up all night. From the intense cold it was impossible to sleep. Hungry and without cover.

19th January, Monday: We again took the field and after crawling about one mile in the snow got to shoot eight times among a gang of buffalo and could plainly perceive two or three to be badly wounded, but by accident they

The Southwestern Expedition

took the wind of us and to our great mortification all were able to run off. By this time I had become extremely weak and faint, [it] being the fourth day since we had received sustenance, all of which we were marching hard and the last night had scarcely closed our eyes to sleep. We were inclining our course to a point of woods, determined to remain absent and die by ourselves rather than to return to our camp and behold the misery of our poor lads, when we discovered a gang of buffalo coming along at some distance. With great exertions I made out to run and place myself behind some cedars and by the greatest of good luck the first shot stopped one, which we killed in three more shots, and by the dusk had cut each of us a heavy load with which we determined immediately to proceed to the camp in order to relieve the anxiety of our men and carry the poor fellows some food. We arrived there about twelve o'clock, and when I threw my load down it was with difficulty I prevented myself from falling. I was attacked with a giddiness of the head, which lasted for some minutes. On the countenances of the men was not a frown, nor a desponding eye; all seemed happy to hail their officer and companions, yet not a mouthful had they eaten for four days. On demanding what were their thoughts, the sergeant replied [that] on the morrow the most robust had determined to set out in search of us, and not [to] return unless they found us or killed

Zebulon M. Pike

something to preserve the life of their starving companions.

20th January, Tuesday: The Doctor and all the men [who were] able to march returned to the buffalo to bring in the balance of the meat. On examining the feet of those who were frozen we found it impossible for two of them to proceed, and two others [could] only [proceed] without loads by the help of a stick. One of the former was my waiter, a promising young lad of twenty, whose feet were so badly frozen as to present every probability of losing them.

The Doctor and party returned towards evening loaded with the buffalo meat.

21st January, Wednesday: This day [we] separated the four loads we intended to leave and took them at some distance from the camp, where we secured them. I went up to the foot of the mountain to see what prospect there was of being able to cross it, but had not more than fairly arrived at its base when I found the snow four or five feet deep. This obliged me to determine to proceed and *côtoyer*¹ the mountain to the south, where it appeared lower, and until we found a place where we could cross.

22d January, Thursday: I furnished the two poor lads who were to remain with ammunition and made use of every argument in my power to encourage them to have fortitude to resist their fate, and gave them assurance of my sending relief as soon as possible.

¹ That is, follow along its base.

The Southwestern Expedition

We parted, but not without tears. We pursued our march, taking merely sufficient provisions for one meal in order to leave as much as possible for the two poor fellows who remained (who were John Sparks and Thomas Dougherty). We went on eight miles and encamped on a little creek which came down from the mountains. At three o'clock went out to hunt but killed nothing. Little snow.

23d January, Friday: After showing the sergeant a point to steer for, the Doctor and myself proceeded on ahead in hopes to kill something, as we were again without victuals. About one o'clock it commenced snowing very hard. We retreated to a small copse of pine where we constructed a camp to shelter us, and as it was time the party should arrive we sallied forth to search [for] them. We separated and had not marched more than one or two miles when I found it impossible to keep any course without the compass continually in my hand, and then not being able to see more than ten yards. I began to perceive the difficulty even of finding the way back to our camp and I can scarcely conceive a more dreadful idea than remaining on the wild, where inevitable death must have ensued. It was with great pleasure I again reached the camp, where I found the Doctor had arrived before me. We lay down and strove to dissipate the idea of hunger and our misery by the thoughts of our far-distant homes and relatives. Distance eight miles.

Zebulon M. Pike

24th January, Saturday: We sallied out in the morning and shortly after perceived our little band marching through the snow, about two and a half feet deep, silent and with down-cast countenances. We joined them and learned that they, finding the snow to fall so thickly that it was impossible to proceed, had encamped about one o'clock the preceding day. As I found all the buffalo had quit the plains I determined to attempt the traverse of the mountain, in which we persevered until the snow became so deep [that] it was impossible to proceed, when I again turned my face to the plain and for the first time in the voyage found myself discouraged, and [for] the first time I heard a man express himself in a seditious manner. He exclaimed that it was more than human nature could bear to march three days without sustenance through snows three feet deep and carry burdens only fit for horses, etc., etc.

As I knew very well the fidelity and attachment of the majority of the men, and even of this poor fellow (only he could not endure fasting) and that it was in my power to chastise him when I thought proper, I passed it unnoticed for the moment, determined to notice it at a more auspicious time. We dragged our weary and emaciated limbs along until about 10 o'clock. The Doctor and myself, who were in advance, discovered some buffalo on the plain, when we left our loads on the snow and

The Southwestern Expedition

gave orders to proceed to the nearest woods to encamp. We went in pursuit of the buffalo, which were on the move.

The Doctor, who was then less reduced than myself, ran and got behind a hill and shot one down, which stopped the remainder. We crawled up to the dead one and shot from him as many as twelve or fourteen times among the gang, when they removed out of sight. We then proceeded to butcher the one we had shot and after procuring each of us a load of the meat we marched for the camp, the smoke of which was in view. We arrived at the camp,¹ to the great joy of our brave lads, who immediately feasted sumptuously. After our repast I sent for the lad who had presumed to speak discontentedly in the course of the day, and addressed him to the following effect: "Brown, you this day presumed to make use of language which was seditious and mutinous. I then passed it over, pitying your situation and attributing it to your distress, rather than your inclination to sow discontent amongst our party. Had I reserved provisions for ourselves whilst you were starving, had we been marching along light and at our ease whilst you were weighed down with your burden, then you would have had some pretext for your observations. But when we were equally hungry, weary, emaciated, and charged with burden which I believe my natural strength is less able

¹ Not far from Bradford, Huerfano County. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

to bear than any man's in the party, when we were always foremost in breaking the road, reconnoitering, and the fatigues of the chase, it was the height of ingratitude in you to let an expression escape which was indicative of discontent. Your ready compliance and firm perseverance I had reason to expect, as the leader of men and my companions in miseries and dangers. But your duty as a soldier called on your obedience to your officer and a prohibition of such language, which for this time, I will pardon, but [I] assure you, should it ever be repeated, by instant death I will revenge your ingratitude and punish your disobedience. I take this opportunity, likewise, to assure you soldiers generally of my thanks for [the] obedience, perseverance, and ready contempt of every danger which you have generally evinced. I assure you nothing shall be wanting on my part to procure you the rewards of our government and [the] gratitude of your countrymen."

They all appeared very much affected, and retired with assurances of perseverance in duty, etc. Distance nine miles.

25th January, Sunday: I determined never again to march with so little provision on hand, as had the storm continued one day longer the animals would have continued in the mountains and we should have become so weak as not to be able to hunt, and of course have perished.

The Doctor went out with the boys and they secured three of the buffalo. We commenced

The Southwestern Expedition

bringing in the meat, at which we continued all day.

26th January, Monday: Got in all the meat and dried it on a scaffold, intending to take as much as possible along and leave one of my frozen lads with the balance as a deposit for the parties who might return for their baggage, etc., on their way to Baroney's camp.

27th January, Tuesday: We marched, determining to cross the mountains, leaving Menagh encamped with our deposit. After a bad day's march, through snows some places three feet deep, we struck on a brook which led west, which I followed down and shortly came to a small run, running west, which we hailed with fervency as the waters of the Red River.¹ Saw some sign of elk. Distance fourteen miles.

28th January, Wednesday: Followed down the ravine and discovered after some time that there had been a road cut out, and on many trees were various hieroglyphics painted. After marching some miles we discovered through the lengthy vista at a distance another chain of mountains and nearer by at the foot of the White Mountains, which we were then descending, sandy hills. We marched on [to] the outlet of the mountains and left the sandy desert to our right; kept down between it and the mountains. When we encamped I ascended one of the largest hills of sand and with my glass could

¹ The party had crossed the Sangre de Cristo Range and entered upon the valley of the Rio Grande River.

Zebulon M. Pike

discover a large river² flowing nearly north by west and south by east through the plain¹ which came out of the third chain of mountains about N. 75° W. The prairie between the two mountains bore nearly north and south. I returned to camp² with the news of my discovery. The sand hills extended up and down at the foot of the White Mountains about 15 miles, and appeared to be about five miles in width. Their appearance was exactly that of the sea in a storm, except as to color, not the least sign of vegetation existing thereon. Distance fifteen miles.

29th January, Thursday: Finding the distance too great to attempt crossing immediately to the river in a direct line, we marched obliquely to a copse of woods which made down a considerable distance from the mountains. Distance seventeen miles. Saw sign of horses.

30th January, Friday: We marched hard and arrived in the evening on the banks (then supposed Red River) of the Rio del Norte.³ Distance twenty-four miles.

31st January, Saturday: As there was no timber here we determined on descending until we found timber, in order to make transports to descend the river with, where we might establish a position that four or five might defend

¹ The Rio Grande River and the San Luis Valley. Coues.

² Near the town of Montvill. Coues.

³ At, or near, the present town of Alamosa. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

against the insolence, cupidity, and barbarity of the savages whilst the others returned to assist on the poor fellows who were left behind at different points. We descended thirteen miles, when we met a large west branch emptying into the main stream, up which about five miles we took up our station.¹ Killed one deer. Distance eighteen miles.

1st February, Sunday: Laid out the place for our works and went out hunting.

2d February, Monday: The Doctor and myself went out to hunt and with great difficulty by night killed one deer at the distance of seven or eight miles from camp, which we carried in.

3d February, Tuesday: Spent in reading, etc.

4th February, Wednesday: Went out hunting but could not kill anything. One of my men killed a deer.

5th February, Thursday: The Doctor and myself went out to hunt and after chasing some deer for several hours without success we ascended a high hill which lay south of our camp, from whence we had a view of all the prairie and rivers to the north of us. It was at the same time one of the most sublime and beautiful inland prospects ever presented to the eyes of man. The prairie, lying nearly north and south, was probably sixty miles by forty-five.

¹ The site of this camp and the fortification which Pike proceeded to construct, has been identified as on the north bank of the Rio Conejos, about five miles above its junction with the Rio Grande, near a warm spring. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

The main river, bursting out of the western mountain and meeting from the northeast a large branch¹ which divides the chain of mountains, proceeds down the prairie, making many large and beautiful islands, one of which I judge contains 100,000 acres of land, all meadow ground, covered with innumerable herds of deer. About six miles from the mountains, which cross the prairie at the south end, a branch of twelve steps wide pays its tribute to the main stream from the west. Course due W. 12° N. 75° W. 6° . Four miles below is a stream of the same size, which enters on the east; its general course is N. 65° E., up which was a large road. From the entrance of this was about three miles down to the junction of the west fork,² which waters the foot of the hill on the north, whilst the main river wound along in meanders on the east. In short, this view combined the sublime and beautiful. The great and lofty mountains, covered with eternal snows, seemed to surround the luxuriant vale, crowned with perennial flowers, like a terrestrial paradise shut out from the view of man.

6th February, Friday: The Doctor, having some pecuniary demands in the province of New Mexico, conceived this to be the most eligible point for him to go in and return previous to all my party having joined me from the Arkansaw, and that I was prepared to

¹ San Luis Creek. Coues.

² That is, the Rio Conejos.

The Southwestern Expedition

descend to Natchitoches. He therefore this day made his preparations for marching to-morrow. I went out hunting and killed a deer at three miles' distance, which with great difficulty I brought in whole.

We continued to go on with the works of our stockade or breastwork, which was situated on the north bank of the west branch, about five miles from its junction with the main river, and was on a strong plan.

7th February, Saturday: The Doctor marched alone for Santa Fe and as it was uncertain whether this gentleman would ever join me again, I at that time committed the following testimonial of respect for his good qualities to paper, which I do not at this time feel any disposition to efface: He has had the benefit of a liberal education, without having spent his time as too many of our gentlemen do in colleges, viz., in skimming on the surfaces of sciences without ever endeavoring to make themselves masters of the solid foundations. Robinson studied and reasoned. With these qualifications he possessed a liberality of mind too great ever to reject an hypothesis because it was not agreeable to the dogmas of the school, or to adopt it because it had all the *éclat* of novelty. His soul could conceive great actions and his hand was ready to achieve them. In short, it may truly be said that nothing was above his genius, nor anything so minute that he conceived it entirely unworthy of consid-

Zebulon M. Pike

eration. As a gentleman and companion in dangers, difficulties, and hardships I, in particular, and the expedition generally, owe much to his exertions. In the evening I dispatched Corporal Jackson with four men to recross the mountains, in order to bring in the baggage left with the frozen lads and to see if they were yet able to come on. This detachment left me with four men only, two of whom had their feet frozen. They were employed in finishing the stockade, and myself to support them by the chase.

8th February, Sunday: Refreshing my memory as to the French grammar, and overseeing the works.

9th February, Monday: Hunting, etc.

10th February, Tuesday: Read, and labored at our works.

11th February, Wednesday: Hunting. Killed three deer.

12th February, Thursday: Studying.

13th February, Friday: Hunting. Killed two deer.

14th February, Saturday: Crossed the river and examined the numerous springs which issued from the foot of the hill opposite to our camp, which were so strongly impregnated with mineral qualities as not only to keep clear of ice previous to their joining the main branch but to keep open the west fork until its junction with the main river and for a few miles afterwards, whilst all the other branches in the

The Southwestern Expedition

neighborhood were bound in the adamantine chains of winter.

15th February, Sunday: Reading, etc. Works going on.

16th February, Monday: I took one man and went out hunting. About six miles from the post shot and wounded a deer. Immediately afterwards [I] discovered two horsemen rising the summit of a hill, about half a mile to our right. As my orders were to avoid giving alarm or offense to the Spanish government of New Mexico I endeavored to avoid them at first, but when we attempted to retreat they pursued us at full charge, flourishing their lances, and when we advanced they would retire as fast as their horses could carry them. Seeing this, we got in [to] a small ravine in hopes to decoy them near enough to oblige them to come to a parley, which happened agreeably to our desires, as they came on hunting us with great caution. We suffered them to get within forty yards, where we had allured them, but [they] were about running off again when I ordered the soldier to lay down his arms and walk towards them, at the same time standing ready with my rifle to kill either who should lift an arm in a hostile manner. I then hollowed to them that we were Americans and friends, which were almost the only two words I knew in the Spanish language, when, with great signs of fear, they came up, and proved to be a Spanish dragoon and a civilized Indian, armed

Zebulon M. Pike

after their manner, of which we see a description in the *Essai Militaire*. We were jealous of our arms on both sides, and acted with great precaution. They informed me that [this] was the fourth day since they had left Santa Fe; that Robinson had arrived there, and was received with great kindness by the governor. As I knew them to be spies I thought proper to inform them merely that I was about to descend the river to Natchitoches. We sat here on the ground a long time, and finding they were determined not to leave me, we rose and bade them adieu, but they demanded where our camp was; and finding they were not about to leave us, I thought it most proper to take them with me, thinking we were on Red River, and, of course, in the territory claimed by the United States.

We took the road to my fort and as they were on horseback they traveled rather faster than myself. They were halted by the sentinel, and immediately retreated much surprised. When I came up I took them in, and then explained to them as well as possible my intentions of descending the river to Natchitoches, but at the same time told them that if Governor Allencaster would send out an officer with an interpreter who spoke French or English I would do myself the pleasure to give his Excellency every reasonable satisfaction as to my intentions in coming on his frontiers. They informed me that on the second day they would

The Southwestern Expedition

be in Santa Fe, but were careful never to suggest an idea of my being on the Rio del Norte.¹ As they concluded, I did not think as I spoke. They were very anxious to ascertain our numbers, etc.; seeing only five men here, they could not believe we came without horses, etc. To this I did not think proper to give them any satisfaction, giving them to understand we were in many parties, etc.

17th February, Tuesday: In the morning our two Spanish visitors departed after I had made them some trifling presents, with which they seemed highly delighted. After their departure we commenced working at our little work, as I thought it probable the governor might dispute my right to descend the Red River, and send out Indians, or some light party, to attack us. I therefore determined to be as much prepared to receive them as possible. This evening the corporal and three of the men arrived who had been sent back to the camp of the frozen lads. They informed me that two men would arrive the next day, one of whom was Menough, who had been left alone on the twenty-seventh [of] January, but that the other two, Dougherty and Sparks, were unable to come. They said that they had hailed them with tears of joy, and were in despair when they again left them with the chance of never seeing them more. They sent on to me some of the bones taken out of their feet, and conjured me

¹The Rio Grande.

Zebulon M. Pike

by all that was sacred not to leave them to perish far from the civilized world. Ah! little did they know my heart, if they could suspect me of conduct so ungenerous. No, before they should be left I would for months have carried the end of a litter in order to secure them the happiness of once more seeing their native homes and being received in the bosom of a grateful country.

Thus those poor lads are to be invalids for life, made infirm at the commencement of manhood and in the prime of their course, doomed to pass the remainder of their days in misery and want. For what is the pension? Not sufficient to buy a man his victuals! What man would even lose the smallest of his joints for such a trifling pittance?

18th February, Wednesday: The other two boys arrived. In the evening I ordered the sergeant and one man to prepare to march tomorrow for the Arkansaw, where we had left our interpreter, horses, etc., to conduct them on, and on his return to bring the two lads who were still in the mountains.

19th February, Thursday: Sergeant William E. Meek marched with one man, whose name was Theodore Miller, and I took three other men to accompany him out some distance, in order to point out to him a pass in the mountain which I conceived more eligible for horses than the one [by which] we had come. I must [here] remark the effect of habit, discipline, and

The Southwestern Expedition

example in two soldiers soliciting a command of more than 180 miles over two ridges of mountains covered with snow [and] inhabited by bands of unknown savages in the interest of a nation with whom we were not on the best understanding; and to perform this journey each had about ten pounds of venison. Only let me ask, what would our soldiers generally think on being ordered on such a tour thus equipped? Yet those men volunteered it, with others, and were chosen, for which they thought themselves highly honored. We accompanied them about six miles [and] pointed out the pass alluded to in a particular manner, but the corporal reported that the new one which I obliged him to take was impassable, [he] having been three days in snows nearly middle deep.

We then separated and, having killed a deer, [I] sent one of the men back to the fort with it. With the other two I kept on my exploring trip down the river on the east side, at some leagues from its banks, intending to return up it. At nine o'clock at night encamped on a small creek which emptied into the river by nearly a due east course.

20th February, Friday: We marched down the river for a few hours, but seeing no fresh sign of persons or any other object to attract our attention took up our route for the fort. Discovered the sign of horses and men on the shore. We arrived after night and found all well.

Zebulon M. Pike

21st February, Saturday: As I was suspicious that possibly some party of Indians might be harboring round, I gave particular orders to my men, if they discovered any people to endeavor to retreat undiscovered but if not [successful] never to run, and not to suffer themselves to be disarmed or taken prisoners but conduct whatever party discovered them, if they could not escape, to the fort.

22d February, Sunday: As I began to think it was time we received a visit from the Spaniards or their emissaries, I established a look-out guard on the top of a hill all day and at night a sentinel in a bastion on the land side. Studying, reading, etc. Working at our ditch to bring the river round the works.

23d February, Monday: Reading, writing, etc., the men at their usual work, etc.

24th February, Tuesday: Took one man with me and went out on the Spanish road hunting. Killed one deer and wounded several others, and as we were a great distance from the fort we encamped near the road all night. Saw several signs of horses.

25th February, Wednesday: Killed two more deer, when we marched for our post. Took all three of the deer with us and arrived about nine o'clock at night, as much fatigued, etc., as ever I was in my life. Our arrival dissipated the anxiety of the men, who began to be apprehensive we were taken or killed by some of the savages.

The Southwestern Expedition

26th February, Thursday: In the morning was apprised by the report of a gun from my lookout guard of the approach of strangers. Immediately after, two Frenchmen arrived. My sentinel halted them and ordered them to be admitted after some questions. They informed me that his excellency, Governor Allencaster, had heard it was the intention of the Utah Indians to attack me, had detached an officer with fifty dragoons to come out and protect me, and that they would be here in two days. To this I made no reply; but shortly after the party came in sight to the number of, I afterwards learned, fifty-nine dragoons and fifty mounted militia of the province, armed in the same manner, viz.: lances, escopates,¹ and pistols. My sentinel halted them at the distance of about fifty yards. I had the works manned. I thought it most proper to send out the two Frenchmen to inform the commanding officer that it was my request he should leave his party in a small copse of woods where he [had] halted, and that I would meet him myself in the prairie, in which our work was situated. This I did, with my sword on me only, when I was introduced to Don Ignatio Saltelo and Don Bartholemew Fernandez, two lieutenants, the former the commandant of the party. I gave them an invitation to enter the works, but requested the troops might remain where they were. This was complied with, but when

¹ A carbine or short rifle.

Zebulon M. Pike

they came round and discovered that to enter they were obliged to crawl on their bellies over a small drawbridge they appeared astonished, but entered without further hesitation.

We first breakfasted on some deer [meat], goose, and some biscuit which the civilized Indian who came out as a spy had brought me. After breakfast the commanding officer addressed me as follows: "Sir, the governor of New Mexico, being informed you had missed your route, ordered me to offer you in his name mules, horses, money, or whatever you may stand in need of to conduct you to the head of Red River, as from Santa Fe to where it is sometimes navigable is eight days' journey and we have guides and the routes of the traders to conduct us."

"What", said I, interrupting him, "is not this the Red River?"

"No Sir! the Rio del Norte."

I immediately ordered my flag to be taken down and rolled up, feeling how sensibly I had committed myself in entering their territory, and was conscious that they must have positive orders to take me in.

He now added that he had provided one hundred mules and horses to take in my party and baggage, and how anxious his Excellency was to see me at Santa Fe. I stated to him the absence of my sergeant [and] the situation of the balance of the party, and that my orders would not justify my entering into the Spanish

The Southwestern Expedition

territory. He urged still further, until I began to feel myself a little heated in the argument and told him in a peremptory style I would not go until the arrival of my sergeant with the balance of the party. He replied that there was not the least restraint to be used, only that it was necessary his Excellency should receive an explanation of my business on his frontier, but that I could go now or on the arrival of my party; but that if none went in at present he should be obliged to send in for provisions, but that if I would now march he would leave an Indian interpreter and an escort of dragoons to conduct the sergeant into Santa Fe. His mildness induced me to tell him that I would march, but must leave two men in order to meet the sergeant and party to instruct him as to coming in, as he never would come without a fight if not ordered.

I was induced to consent to the measure by [the] conviction that the officer had positive orders to bring me in, and as I had no orders to commit hostilities, and, indeed, had committed myself, although innocently, by violating their territory, I conceived it would appear better to show a will to come to an explanation than to be [in] any way constrained. Yet my situation was so eligible and I could so easily have put them at defiance that it was with great reluctance I suffered all our labor to be lost without once trying the efficacy of it. My compliance seemed to spread general joy

Zebulon M. Pike

through their party as soon as it was communicated, but it appeared to be different with my men, who wished to have a little dust, as they expressed themselves, and were likewise fearful of treachery.

My determination being once taken, I gave permission for the Spanish lieutenant's men to come to the outside of the works and [to] some of mine to go out and see them, when the hospitality and goodness of the Creoles and Metifs began to manifest itself by their producing their provision and giving it to my men, covering them with their blankets, etc.

After writing orders to my sergeant and leaving them with my corporal and one private, who were to remain, we sallied forth, mounted our horses, and went up the river about twelve miles to a place where the Spanish officers had made a camp deposit,¹ from whence we sent down mules for our baggage, etc.

¹ Near the present town of Conejos. Coues.

Part II
Through the Provinces of
New Spain

The Southwestern Expedition of Zebulon M. Pike

27th February, Friday: In the morning I discovered the Spanish lieutenant was writing letters addressed to the governor and others, on which I demanded if he was not going on with me to Santa Fe. He appeared confused and said "No": that his orders were so positive as to the safe conduct and protection of my men that he dare not go and leave any behind; that his companion would accompany me to Santa Fe with fifty men whilst he with the others would wait for the sergeant and his party. I replied that he had deceived me and had not acted with candor, but that it was now too late for me to remedy the evil.

We marched about eleven o'clock, ascending the Rio del Norte¹ five miles more, S. 60° W., when we went round through a chain of hills and bore off to the south. We proceeded on nine miles farther, when we crossed the main branch of that stream, which was now bearing nearly west towards the main chain of the third chain of mountains.² We encamped on the opposite side. Distance fifteen miles. Intensely

¹ The Rio Conejos River. Coues.

² The San Juan Range. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

cold. Obligated to stop frequently and make fires. Snow deep.

28th February, Saturday: We marched late. One of the Frenchmen informed me that the expedition which had been at the Pawnees had descended the Red River 233 leagues and from thence crossed to the Pawnees expressly in search of my party. This was afterwards confirmed by the gentleman who commanded the troops. He then expressed great regret at my misfortunes, as he termed them, in being taken, and offered his services in secreting papers, etc. I took him at his word, and for my amusement I thought I would try him and give him a leaf or two of my journal, copied, which mentioned the time of my sailing from Belle Fontaine and our force. This I charged him to guard very carefully and give to me after the investigation of my papers at Santa Fe. This day we saw a herd of wild horses. The Spaniards pursued them and caught two colts, one of which the Indians killed and ate. The other was let go. We pursued our journey over some hills where the snow was very deep, and encamped at last on the top of a pretty high hill among some pines.¹ Distance thirty-six miles. We left the river, which in general ran about six, eight, and ten miles to the left, or east, of us. Saw great sign of elk.

1st March, Sunday: We marched early, and although we rode very hard we only got to the

¹Near the modern station of Tres Piedras. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

village of L'eau Chaud or Warm Spring¹ sometime in the afternoon, which was about forty-five miles. The difference of climate was astonishing; after we left the hills and deep snows we found ourselves on plains where there was no snow, and where vegetation was sprouting.

The village of the Warm Springs, or Aqua Caliente in their language, is situated on the eastern branch of a creek of that name, and at a distance presents to the eye a square enclosure of mud walls, the houses forming the wall. They are flat on top, or with extremely little ascent on one side, where there are spouts to carry off the water of the melting snow and rain when it falls, which we were informed had been but once in two years, previous to our entering the country.

Inside of the inclosure were the different streets of houses of the same fashion, all of one story. The doors were narrow, the windows small, and in one or two houses there were talc lights. This village had a mill near it, situated on the little creek, which made very good flour. The population consisted of civilized Indians, but much mixed blood.

Here we had a dance which is called the fandango, but there was one which was copied from the Mexicans and is now danced in the first societies of New Spain, and has even been introduced at the court of Madrid.

¹ Modern Ojo Caliente. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

This village may contain 500 souls. The greatest natural curiosity is the warm springs, which are two in number, about ten yards apart, and each affords sufficient water for a mill seat. They appeared to be impregnated with copper and were more than 33° above blood heat. From this village the Tetaus drove off 2,000 horses at one time, when at war with the Spaniards.

2d March, Monday: We marched late and passed several little mud-walled villages and settlements, all of which had round mud towers of the ancient shape and construction to defend the inhabitants from the intrusions of the savages. I was this day shown the ruins of several old villages which had been taken and destroyed by the Tetaus. We were frequently stopped by the women, who invited us into their houses to eat, and in every place where we halted a moment there was a contest who should be our hosts. My poor lads who had been frozen were conducted home by old men, who would cause their daughters to dress their feet, provide their victuals and drink, and at night gave them the best bed in the house. In short, all their conduct brought to my recollection the hospitality of the ancient patriarchs, and caused me to sigh with regret at the corruption of that noble principle by the polish of modern ages.

We descended the creek of Aqua Caliente about twelve miles, where it joined the river of

The Southwestern Expedition

Conejos¹ from the west. This river was about thirty yards wide and was settled above its junction with the Aqua Caliente twelve miles, as the latter was its whole course from the village of that name. From where they form a junction, it was about fifteen miles to the Rio del Norte, on the eastern [bank] of which was situated the village of St. John's, which was the residence of the president priest of the province who had resided in it forty years.

The housetops of the village of St. John's were crowded, as well as the streets, when we entered, and at the door of the public quarters we were met by the president priest. When my companion who commanded the escort received him in a street and embraced him, all the poor creatures who stood round strove to kiss the ring or hand of the holy father; for myself, I saluted him in the usual style. My men were conducted into the quarters and I went to the house of the priest, where we were treated with politeness. He offered us coffee, chocolate, or whatever we thought proper, and desired me to consider myself at home in his house.

As I was going, some time after, to the quarters of my men, I was addressed at the door by a man in broken English: "My friend, I am very sorry to see you here. We are all prisoners in this country and can never return. I have been a prisoner for nearly three years and

¹ The Rio Chama. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

cannot get out." I replied that as for his being a prisoner, it must be for some crime, that with respect to myself I felt no apprehension, and requested him to speak French, as I could hardly understand his English; when he began to demand of me so many different questions on the mode of my getting into the country, my intention, etc., that by the time I arrived in the room of my men I was perfectly satisfied of his having been ordered by some person to endeavor to obtain some confession or acknowledgment of sinister designs in my having appeared on the frontiers, and some confidential communications which might implicate me. As he had been rather insolent in his inquiries, I ordered my men to shut and fasten the door. I then told him that I believed him to be an emissary sent on purpose by the governor, or some person, to endeavor to betray me, that all men of that description were scoundrels, and never should escape punishment whilst I possessed the power to chastise them, immediately ordering my men to seize him, and cautioning him at the same time that if he cried out or made the least resistance I would be obliged to make use of the saber which I had in my hand; on which he was so much alarmed that he begged me for God's sake not to injure him, [saying] that he had been ordered by the governor to meet me and endeavor to trace out what and who I was and what were my designs, by endeavoring to produce a confidence

The Southwestern Expedition

in him by his exclaiming against the Spaniards and complaining of the tyranny which they had exercised towards him. After this confession I ordered my men to release him, and told him that I looked upon him as too contemptible for further notice, but that he might tell the governor the next time he employed emissaries to choose those of more abilities and sense, and that I questioned if his Excellency would find the sifting of us an easy task.

This man's name was Baptiste Lalande. He had come from the Illinois to the Pawnees to trade with goods furnished him by William Morrison,¹ a gentleman of the Illinois, and from thence to New Mexico with the goods which he had procured and [had] established himself, and was the same man on whom Robinson had a claim. He returned into the priest's house with me and instead of making any complaint he, in reply to their inquiries of who I was, etc., informed them that when he left Louisiana I was governor of the Illinois. This, I presume, he took for granted from my having commanded for some time the post of

¹William Morrison settled at Kaskaskia in 1790. He was a member of the firm of Bryant and Morrison, his partner being his uncle, Guy Bryant, a resident of Philadelphia. Morrison conducted an extensive trade, being denominated by one authority the leading merchant of the Mississippi Valley. He became wealthy, and in 1801 built a stone residence at Kaskaskia which was furnished on a scale of luxury unequalled in the Illinois country. He died in April, 1837.

Zebulon M. Pike

Kaskaskia, the first military post the United States had established in that country since the peace. However, the report served but to add to the respect with which my companion and host treated me.

Having had at this place the first good meal, wine, etc., with the heat of the house and perhaps rather an immoderate use of the refreshments allowed me produced an attack of something like the cholera morbus, which alarmed me considerably and made me determine to be more abstemious in future.

This father was a great naturalist, or rather florist. He had large collections of flowers, plants, etc., and several works on his favorite studies, the margin and bottoms of which were filled with his notes in the Castilian language. As I neither had a natural turn for botany sufficient to induce me to puzzle my head much with the Latin nor understood the Castilian, I enjoyed but little of his lecture, which he continued to give me nearly for two hours on those subjects, but by the exercise of a small degree of patience I entirely acquired the esteem of this worthy father, he calling me his son and lamenting extremely that my fate had not made me one of the holy Catholic church.¹

¹ In an appendix to the journal, as printed in the original edition, Pike supplies the following additional information: The father being informed that I had some astronomical instruments with me, expressed a desire to see them. All that I had here was my sextant and a large glass which magnified considerably, cal-

The Southwestern Expedition

St. John's was inclosed with a mud wall and probably contained 1,000 souls. Its population consisted principally of civilized Indians, as indeed does [the population of] all the villages of New Mexico, the whites not forming the one-twentieth part of the inhabitants.

3d March, Tuesday: We marched after breakfast, B. Lalande accompanying us, and in about six miles came to a village,¹ where I suppose there were more than 2,000 souls. Here we halted at the house of the priest, who, understanding that I would not kiss his hand, would not present it to me. The conduct and behavior of a young priest who came in was such as in our country would have been amply sufficient forever to have banished him from

culated for the day or night, the remainder of my instruments being with my sergeant and party. On examining the sextant and showing him the effect of it in the reflection of the sun he appeared more surprised, as well as hundreds who surrounded us, at the effect of the instrument, than any nation of savages I was ever among, and here an idea struck me as extraordinary, how a man who appeared to be perfect master of the ancient languages, a botanist, mineralogist, and chemist should be so ignorant of the powers of reflection and the first principles of mathematics; but my friend explained that enigma by informing me of the care the Spanish government took to prevent any branch of science from being made a pursuit which would have a tendency to extend the views of the subjects of the provinces to the geography of their country, or any other subject which would bring to view a comparison of their local advantages and situations with [those of] other countries.

¹ Santa Cruz. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

the clerical association—strutting about with a dirk in his boot, a cane in his hand, whispering to one girl, chucking another under the chin, and going out with a third, etc. From this village to another small village¹ of 500 inhabitants is seven miles. At each of those villages is a small stream, sufficient for the purpose of watering their fields. At the father's house we took coffee. From this village it was seventeen miles to another² of 400 civilized Indians. Here we changed horses and prepared for entering the capital,³ which we came in sight of in the evening. It is situated along the banks of a small creek which comes down from the mountains and runs west to the Rio del Norte. The length of the capital on the creek may be estimated at one mile; it is but three streets in width.

Its appearance from a distance struck my mind with the same effect as a fleet of the flat-bottomed boats which are seen in the spring and fall seasons descending the Ohio River. There are two churches, the magnificence of whose steeples form a striking contrast to the miserable appearance of the houses. On the north side of the town is the square of soldiers' houses, equal to 120 or 140 on each flank. The public square is in the center of the town, on the north side of which is situated the palace

¹ Pojoaque. Coues.

² Teseque. Coues.

³ Santa Fe.

The Southwestern Expedition

(as they term it) or government house, with the quarters for guards, etc. The other side of the square is occupied by the clergy and public officers. In general the houses have a shed before the front, some of which have a flooring of brick. The consequence is that the streets are very narrow, say in general twenty-five feet. The supposed population is 4,500 souls. On our entering the town the crowd was great, and [it] followed us to the government house. When we dismounted we were ushered in through various rooms the floors of which were covered with skins of buffalo, bear, or some other animal. We waited in a chamber for some time until his Excellency appeared, when we rose and the following conversation took place in French.

Governor. Do you speak French?

Pike. Yes, sir.

Governor. You come to reconnoiter our country, do you?

Pike. I marched to reconnoiter our own.

Governor. In what character are you?

Pike. In my proper character, an officer of the United States army.

Governor. And this Robinson, is he attached to your party?

Pike. No.

Governor. Do you know him?

Pike. Yes, he is from St. Louis. (I had understood the Doctor was sent forty-five degrees from Santa Fe under a strong guard, and the

Zebulon M. Pike

haughty and unfriendly reception of the governor induced me to believe war must have been declared, and that if it was known Dr. Robinson accompanied me he would be treated with great severity. I was correct in saying he was not attached to my party, for he was only a volunteer. He could not properly be said to be one of my command.)

Governor. How many men have you?

Pike. Fifteen.

Governor. And this Robinson makes sixteen.

Pike. I have already told your Excellency that he does not belong to my party, and [I] shall answer no more interrogatories on that subject.

Governor. When did you leave St. Louis?

Pike. 15th July.

Governor. I think you marched in June.

Pike. No, sir!

Governor. Well, return with Mr. Bartholemew to his house and come here again at seven o'clock and bring your papers; on which we returned to the house of my friend Bartholemew, who seemed much hurt at the interview.

At the door of the government house I met the old Frenchman to whom I had given the scrap of paper on the twenty-seventh of February. He had left us in the morning and, as I suppose, hurried in to make his report, and I presume had presented this paper to his Excellency. I demanded, with a look of contempt, if he had made his report? To which he

The Southwestern Expedition

made reply in an humble tone and began to excuse himself, but I did not wait to hear his excuses. At the hour appointed we returned, when the Governor demanded my papers. I told him I understood my trunk was taken possession of by his guard. He expressed surprise, and immediately ordered it in, and also sent for one Solomon Colly, formerly a sergeant in our army, and one of the unfortunate company of Nolan.¹ We were seated, when he ordered Colly to demand my name, to which I replied. He then demanded in what province I was born. I answered in English, and then addressed his Excellency in French, and told him that I did not think it necessary to enter into such a catechising; that if he would be at the pains of reading my commission from the United States and my orders from my general it would be all that I presumed would be necessary to convince his Excellency that I came with no hostile intentions towards the Spanish government; on the contrary, that I had

¹Philip Nolan was one of the earliest American adventurers in Texas. In 1800 he organized a party of twenty-one men at Natchez to go into this region on the ostensible errand of hunting wild horses. A Spanish force sent from Nacogdoches to intercept the party fell upon it near the site of modern Waco in March, 1801. Nolan was slain in the battle and all of his followers were carried captives into Mexico. With one exception, history is silent concerning their later careers.

The real Philip Nolan is not to be confused with the fictitious individual of the same name who figures in Edward Everett Hale's story, *The Man Without a Country*.

Zebulon M. Pike

express instructions to guard against giving them offense or alarm, and that his Excellency would be convinced that myself and party were rather to be considered objects on which the so-much-celebrated generosity of the Spanish nation might be exercised than proper subjects to occasion the opposite sentiments.

He then requested to see my commission and orders, which I read to him in French, on which he got up and gave me his hand for the first time, and said he was happy to be acquainted with me as a man of honor and a gentleman; that I could retire this evening and take my trunk with me; that on the morrow he would make further arrangements.

4th March, Wednesday: Was desired by the governor to bring up my trunk in order that he might make some observations on my route, etc. When he ordered me to take my trunk over night, I had conceived the examination of papers was over, and as many of my documents were entrusted to the care of my men and I found that the inhabitants were treating the men with liquor, I was fearful they would become intoxicated and, through inadvertency, betray or discover the papers. I had therefore obtained several of them and had put them in the trunk, when an officer arrived for myself and it, and I had no opportunity of taking them out again before I was taken up to the palace. I discovered instantly that I [had been] deceived, but it was too late to remedy the evil.

The Southwestern Expedition

After examining the contents of my trunk he informed me [that] I must, with my troops, go to Chihuahua, province of Biscay, to appear before the commandant-general. He added: "You have the key of your trunk in your own possession; the trunk will be put under charge of the officer who commands your escort." The following conversation then took place.

Pike. If we go to Chihuahua we must be considered as prisoners of war?

Governor. By no means.

Pike. You have already disarmed my men without my knowledge; are their arms to be returned or not?

Governor. They can receive them any moment.

Pike. But, sir, I cannot consent to be led three or four hundred leagues out of my route without its being by force of arms.

Governor. I know you do not go voluntarily, but I will give you a certificate from under my hand of my having obliged you to march.

Pike. I will address you a letter on the subject.

Governor. You will dine with me today, and march afterwards to a village about six miles distant, escorted by Captain Anthony D'Almansa with a detachment of dragoons, who will accompany you to where the remainder of your escort is now waiting for you under the command of the officer who commanded the expedition to the Pawnees.

Zebulon M. Pike

Pike. I would not wish to be impertinent in my observations to your Excellency, but pray, sir, do you not think it was a greater infringement of our territory to send [an expedition] 600 miles in the Pawnees, than for me with our small party to come on the frontiers of yours with an intent to descend Red River?

Governor. I do not understand you.

Pike. No, sir! Any further explanation is unnecessary.

I then returned to the house of my friend Bartholemew, and wrote my letter to his Excellency, which I had not finished before we were hurried to dinner.

In the morning I received from the governor by the hands of his private secretary twenty-one dollars, notifying to me that it was the amount of the king's allowance for my party to Chihuahua and that it would be charged to me on account of my subsistence. From this I clearly understood that it was calculated that the expenses of the party to Chihuahua would be defrayed by the United States. I also received by the same hands from his Excellency a shirt and neck-cloth, with his compliments, wishing me to accept of them, as they were made in Spain by his sister and never had been worn by any person, for which I returned him my sincere acknowledgments.

It may not be deemed irrelevant if I explain at this period the miserable appearance we made and situation we were in, with the causes

The Southwestern Expedition

of it. When we left our interpreter and one man on the Arkansaw we were obliged to carry all our baggage on our backs, consequently that which was the most useful was preferred to the few ornamental parts of dress we possessed. The ammunition claimed our first care, tools secondary, leather, leggings, boots, and mockinsons were the next in consideration. Consequently, I left all my uniform, clothing, trunks, etc., as did the men, except what they had on their backs, conceiving that which would secure the feet and legs from the cold as preferable to any less indispensable portion of our dress. Thus, when we presented ourselves at Santa Fe I was dressed in a pair of blue trousers, mockinsons, blanket coat, and a cap made of scarlet cloth lined with fox-skins, and my poor fellows in leggings, breechcloths, and leather coats, and not a hat in the whole party. This appearance was extremely mortifying to us all, especially as soldiers, and although some of the officers used frequently to observe to me that "worth made the man," etc., with a variety of adages to the same amount, yet the first impression made on the ignorant is hard to eradicate; and a greater proof cannot be given of the ignorance of the common people than their asking if we lived in houses or camps like the Indians, or if we wore hats in our country. Those observations are sufficient to show the impression our uncouth appearance made amongst them.

Zebulon M. Pike

The dinner at the governor's was rather splendid, having a variety of dishes and wines of the southern provinces, and when his Excellency was a little warmed with the influence of cheering liquor he became very sociable. He informed me that there existed a serious difficulty between the commandant-general of the internal provinces and the Marquis Caso Calvo, who had given permission to Mr. Dunbar to explore the Ouchata [Washita] contrary to the general principles of their government, in consequence of which the former had made representations against the latter to the court of Madrid. After dinner his Excellency ordered his coach. Captain D'Almansa, Bartholemew, and myself entered with him, and he drove out three miles. He was drawn by six mules and attended by a guard of cavalry. When we parted his adieu was, "Remember Allencaster, in peace or war."

Left a note for my sergeant with instructions to keep up good discipline and not be alarmed or discouraged. As I was about leaving the public square poor Colly (the American prisoner) came up with tears in his eyes and hoped I would not forget him when I arrived in the United States.

After we left the governor we rode on about three miles to a defile where we halted for the troops and I soon found that the old soldier who accompanied us and commanded our escort was fond of a drop of the cheering

The Southwestern Expedition

liquor, as his boy carried a bottle in his *cochmelies* (a small leather case attached to the saddle for the purpose of carrying small articles). We were accompanied by my friend Bartholemew. We ascended a hill and galloped on until about ten o'clock, snowing hard all the time. We came to a precipice which we descended, meeting with great difficulty from the obscurity of the night, to the small village where we put up in the quarters of the priest, he being absent.

After supper Captain D'Almansa related to me that he had served his Catholic majesty forty years to arrive at the rank he then held, which was a first lieutenant in the line and a captain by brevet, whilst he had seen various Europeans promoted over his head. After the old man had taken his *quantum sufficit* and gone to sleep, my friend and myself sat up for some hours, he explaining to me their situation [and] the great desire they felt for a change of affairs and an open trade with the United States. I pointed out to him with chalk on the floor the geographical connection and route from [between] North Mexico and Louisiana, and finally gave him a certificate addressed to the citizens of the United States stating his friendly disposition and his being a man of influence. This paper he seemed to estimate as a very valuable acquisition, as he was decidedly of opinion we would invade that country the ensuing spring, and not all

Zebulon M. Pike

my assurances to the contrary could eradicate that idea.

5th March, Friday: It [was] snowing very bad in the morning [and] we did not march until 11 o'clock. In the meantime Bartholemew and myself paid a visit to an old invalid Spaniard, who received us in the most hospitable manner, giving us chocolate, etc. He made many inquiries as to our government and religion, and of [Bartholemew], who did not fail to give them the brightest coloring, he being enthusiastic in their favor from his many conversations with me, and drawing comparisons with his own country. What appeared to the old veteran most extraordinary was that we ever changed our president. I was obliged to draw his powers on a nearer affinity with those of a monarch than they really are, in order that they might comprehend his station and that there was a perfect freedom of conscience permitted in our country. He, however, expressed his warm approbation of the measure. In the priest's house in which we put up were two orphan girls, who were adopted by him in their infancy and at this time constituted his whole family.

I bade adieu to my friend Bartholemew and could not avoid shedding tears; he embraced me, and all my men.

We arrived at the village of St. Domingo at two o'clock. It is, as I supposed, nine miles on the east side of the Rio del Norte, and is a

The Southwestern Expedition

large village, the population being about 1,000 natives, generally governed by its own chief. The chiefs of the villages were distinguished by a cane with a silver head and black tassel. On our arrival at the public house Captain D'Almansa was waited on by the governor, cap in hand, to receive his orders as to the furnishing of our quarters and ourselves with wood, water, provisions, etc. The house itself contained nothing but bare walls and small grated windows, and brought to my recollection the representation of the Spanish inhabitants as given by Dr. Moore in his travels through Spain, Italy, etc. This village, as well as that of St. Philip's and St. Bartholemew, are of the nation of Keres, many of whom do not yet speak good Spanish.

After we had refreshed ourselves a little the captain sent for the keys of the church. We entered it, and I was much astonished to find enclosed in mud-brick walls many rich paintings, and the Saint (Domingo) as large as life, elegantly ornamented with gold and silver. The captain made a slight inclination of the head, and intimated to me that this was the patron of the village. We then ascended into the gallery, where the choir are generally placed. In an outside hall was placed another image of the saint, less richly ornamented, where the populace repaired daily and knelt to return thanks for benefactions received, or to ask new favors. Many young girls, indeed,

Zebulon M. Pike

chose the time of our visit to be on their knees before the holy patron. From the flat roof of the church we had a delightful view of the village, the Rio del Norte on our west, the mountains of St. Dies to the south, and the valley round the town, on which were numerous herds of goats, sheep, and asses. Upon the whole, this was one of the handsomest views in New Mexico.

6th March, Friday: Marched down the Rio del Norte on the east side. Snow one foot deep. Passed large flocks of goats. At the village of St. Philip's¹ [we] crossed [the river on] a bridge of eight arches, constructed as follows: the pillars made of neat woodwork, something similar to a crate and in the form of a keel-boat, the sharp end or bow to the current; this crate or butment was filled with stone, in which the river lodged sand, clay, etc., until it had become of a tolerably firm consistency. On the top of the pillars were laid pine logs lengthways, squared on two sides; being joined pretty close, [they] made a tolerable bridge for horses, but would not have been very safe for carriages, as there were no hand-rails.

On our arrival at the house of the father we were received in a very polite and friendly manner, and before my departure we seemed to have been friends for years past.

During our dinner, at which we had a variety

¹ San Felipe. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

of wines and were entertained with music, composed of bass drums, French horns, violins, and cymbals, we likewise entered into a long and candid conversation as to the Creoles, wherein he neither spared the government nor its administrators. As to government and religion, Father Rubi displayed a liberality of opinion and a fund of knowledge which astonished me. He showed me a statistical table on which he had, in a regular manner, taken the whole province of New Mexico by villages, beginning at Tous¹ on the northwest and ending with Valencia on the south, and giving their latitude, longitude, and population, whether natives or Spaniards, civilized or barbarous, Christians or pagans, numbers, name of the nation, when converted, how governed, military force, clergy, salary, etc., etc.; in short, a complete geographical, statistical, and historical sketch of the province. Of this I wished to obtain a copy, but perceived that the captain was somewhat surprised at its having been shown to me. When we parted we promised to write to each other, which I performed from Chihuahua.

Here was an old Indian who was extremely inquisitive to know if we were Spaniards, to which an old gentleman called Don Francisco, who appeared to be an intimate of Father Rubi, replied in the affirmative. "But," said the Indian, "they do not speak Castilian."

¹ Taos.

Zebulon M. Pike

"True," replied the other, "but you are an Indian of the nation of Keres, are you not?" "Yes." "Well, the Utahs are Indians also?" "Yes." "But still you do not understand them, they speaking a different language." "True," replied the Indian. "Well," said the old gentleman, "those strangers are likewise Spaniards, but [they] do not speak the same language with us." This reasoning seemed to satisfy the poor savage, and I could not but smile at the ingenuity displayed to make him believe there was no other nation of whites but the Spaniards.

Whilst at dinner Father Rubi was informed one of his parishioners was at the point of death and wished his attendance to receive his confession. We took our departure, but were shortly after overtaken by our friend, who, after giving me another hearty shake of the hand, left us. Crossed the river and passed two small hamlets and houses on the road to the village of St. Dies,¹ opposite the mountain of the same name, where we were received in a house of Father Rubi, this making part of his domain.

7th March, Saturday: Marched at nine o'clock through a country better cultivated and inhabited than any I had yet seen. Arrived at Albuquerque, a village on the east side of the Rio del Norte. We were received by Father Ambrosio Guerra in a very flattering manner,

¹The pueblo of Sandia, or Zandia. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

and led into his hall. From thence, after taking some refreshment, into an inner apartment where he ordered his adopted children of the female sex to appear, when they came in by turns, Indians of various nations, Spanish, French, and, finally, two young girls, who from their complexion I conceived to be English. On perceiving I noticed them, he ordered the rest to retire, many of whom were beautiful, and directed those to sit down on the sofa beside me. Thus situated, he told me that they had been taken to the east by the Tetaus [and] passed from one nation to another until he purchased them, at that time infants. They could recollect neither their names nor language, but, concluding they were my country-women, he ordered them to embrace me as a mark of their friendship, to which they appeared nothing loth.

We then sat down to dinner, which consisted of various dishes, excellent wines, and to crown all, we were waited on by half a dozen of those beautiful girls, who, like Hebe at the feast of the gods, converted our wine to nectar and with their ambrosial breath shed incense on our cups. After the cloth was removed some time, the priest beckoned me to follow him, and led me into his "sanctum sanctorum," where he had the rich and majestic images of various saints, and in the midst the crucified Jesus, crowned with thorns, with rich rays of golden glory surrounding his head; in short, the room

Zebulon M. Pike

being hung with black silk curtains, served but to augment the gloom and majesty of the scene.

When he conceived my imagination sufficiently wrought up, he put on a black gown and miter, kneeled before the cross, and took hold of my hand and endeavored gently to pull me down beside him. On my refusal he prayed fervently for a few minutes and then rose, laid his hands on my shoulders, and, as I conceived, blessed me. He then said to me, "You will not be a Christian. Oh! What a pity! "Oh! What a pity!" He then threw off his robes, took me by the hand, and led me out of the company smiling; but the scene I had gone through had made too serious an impression on my mind to be eradicated until we took our departure, which was in an hour after, having received great marks of friendship from the father.

Both above and below Albuquerque the citizens were beginning to open the canals to let in the water of the river to fertilize the plains and fields which border its banks on both sides, where we saw men, women, and children of all ages and sexes at the joyful labor which was to crown with rich abundance their future harvest and insure them plenty for the ensuing year. Those scenes brought to my recollection the bright descriptions given by Savary of the opening of the canals of Egypt. The cultivation of the fields was now commencing and everything appeared to give life and

The Southwestern Expedition

gaiety to the surrounding scenery. We crossed the Rio del Norte a little below the village of Albuquerque where it was 400 yards wide, but not more than three feet deep and excellent fording. At Father Ambrosio's was the only chart we saw in the province that gave the near connection of the sources of the Rio del Norte and the Rio Colorado of California, with their ramifications. On our arriving at the next village, a dependency of Father Ambrosio, we were invited into the house of the commandant. When I entered I saw a man sitting by the fire reading a book; with blooming cheeks, fine complexion, and a genius-speaking eye he arose from his seat. It was Robinson! Not that Robinson who left my camp on the head waters of the Rio del Norte, pale, emaciated, with uncombed locks and beard of eight months' growth, but with fire, unsubdued enterprise, and fortitude. The change was, indeed, surprising. I started back and exclaimed, "Robinson!" "Yes." "But I do not know you," I replied. "But I know you," he exclaimed. "I would not be unknown to you here in this land of tyranny and oppression to avoid all the pains they dare to inflict. Yet, my friend, I grieve to see you here and thus, for I presume you are a prisoner." I replied, "No! I wear my sword, you see, and all my men have their arms, and the moment they dare to ill-treat us we will surprise their guards in the night, carry off some horses, and make our way

Zebulon M. Pike

to [the] Apaches and then set them at defiance." At this moment Captain D'Almansa entered and I introduced Robinson to him as [my] *companion de voyage* and friend, he having before seen him at Santa Fe. He did not appear much surprised, and received him with a significant smile, as much as to say, "I knew this." We then marched out to the place where the soldiers were encamped, not one of whom would recognize him, agreeably to orders, until I gave the sign. Then it was a joyful meeting, as the whole party was enthusiastically fond of him. He gave me the following relation of his adventures after he left me.

"I marched the first day up the branch¹ on which we were situated, as you know we had concluded it would be the most proper to follow it to its source and then cross the mountains west, where we had conceived we should find the Spanish settlements, and at night encamped on its banks. The second day I left it a little and bore more south, and was getting up the side of the mountain, when I discovered two Indians, for whom I made. They were armed with bows and arrows, and were extremely shy of my approach, but after some time, confidence being somewhat restored, I signified a wish to go to Santa Fe, when they pointed due south, down the river I left you on. As I could not believe them I reiterated the inquiry and received the same reply. I

¹ The Rio Conejos.

The Southwestern Expedition

then concluded that we had been deceived, and that you were on the Rio del Norte instead of Red River, and was embarrassed whether I should not immediately return to apprise you of it, but concluded it to be too late, as I was discovered by the Indians, whom if I had not met, or some others, I should have continued on, crossed the mountains to the waters of the Colorado, and descended them until from their course I should have discovered my mistake. I therefore offered them some presents to conduct me in; they agreed, conducted me to their camp where their women were, and in about five minutes we were on our march. That night we encamped in the woods and I slept very little, owing to my distrust of my companions.

"The next day at three o'clock P. M. we arrived at the village of Aqua Caliente, where I was immediately taken into the house of the commandant, and expresses [were] dispatched to Santa Fe. That night I was put to sleep on a mattress on the floor. The next day we departed early, leaving my arms and baggage at the commandant's, he promising to have them forwarded to me at the city. On our arrival at Santa Fe the governor received me with great austerity at first, and entered into an examination of my business and took possession of all my papers. After all this was explained he ordered me to a room where the officers were confined when under an arrest and a

Zebulon M. Pike

non-commissioned officer [was detailed] to attend me when I walked out into the city, which I had free permission to do. I was supplied with provisions from the governor's table, who had promised he would write [to] Baptiste Lalande to come down and answer to the claim I had against him; whose circumstance I had apprised myself of.

"The second day the governor sent for me and informed me that he had made inquiry as to the abilities of Lalande to discharge the debt and found that he possessed no property, but that at some future period he would secure the money for me. To this I made a spirited remonstrance, as an infringement of our treaties and a protection of a refugee citizen of the United States against his creditors, which had no other effect than to obtain me an invitation to dinner and rather more respectful treatment than I had hitherto received from his Excellency, who, being slightly afflicted with the dropsy, requested my advice as to his case. I prescribed a regimen and mode of treatment which happened to differ from the one adopted by a monk and practicing physician of the place, [which] brought on me his enmity and ill offices. The ensuing day I was ordered by the governor to hold myself in readiness to proceed to the internal parts of the country, to which I agreed, determining not to leave the country in a clandestine manner unless they attempted to treat me with indig-

The Southwestern Expedition

nity or hardship, and conceiving it in my power to join you on your retreat, or find Red River and descend it should you not be brought in, but in that case to share your destiny. Added to this I felt a desire to see more of the country, for which purpose I was willing to run the risk of future consequences.

“We marched the ensuing day, I having been equipped by my friend with some small articles of which I stood in need, such as I would receive out of the numerous offers of his country. The fourth day I arrived at the village of St. Fernandez, where I was received and taken charge of by Lieutenant Don Faciendo Malgares, who commanded the expedition to the Pawnees and whom you will find a gentleman, a soldier, and one of the most gallant men you ever knew. With him I could no longer keep the disguise, and when he informed me, two days since, that you were on the way in, I confessed to him my belonging to your party, and we have ever since been anticipating the pleasure we three will enjoy in our journey to Chihuahua, for he is to command the escort, his dragoons being now encamped in the field, waiting your arrival. Since I have been with him I have practiced physic in the country in order to have an opportunity of examining the manners, customs, etc., of the people, and to endeavor to ascertain the political and religious feelings and to gain every other species of information which would be necessary to our

Zebulon M. Pike

country or ourselves. I am now here on a visit to this man's wife, attended by a corporal of dragoons as a guard, who answers very well as a waiter, guide, etc., in my excursions through the country; but I will immediately return with you to Malgares."

Thus ended Robinson's relation, and I in return related what had occurred to the party and myself. We agreed upon our future line of conduct and then joined my old captain in the house, who had been persuaded to tarry all night, provided it was agreeable to me, as our host wished Robinson to remain until the next day. With this proposition I complied in order that Robinson and myself might have a further discussion before we joined Malgares, who, I suspected, would watch us closely. The troops proceeded on to the village of Tousac that evening.

8th March, Sunday: Marched, after taking breakfast, and halted at a little village three miles distant, called Tousac,¹ situated on the west side of the Rio del Norte. The men informed me that on their arrival over night they had all been furnished with an excellent supper, and after supper, wine and a violin, with a collection of the young people to a dance. When we left this village the priest sent a cart down to carry us over as the river was nearly

¹ The party was proceeding southward from Albuquerque, on the opposite side of the river. Pike's map locates this town about opposite Albuquerque.

The Southwestern Expedition

four feet deep. When we approached the village of St. Fernandez we were met by Lieutenant Malgares, accompanied by two or three other officers. He received me with the most manly frankness and the politeness of a man of the world, yet my feelings were such as almost overpowered me and obliged me to ride by myself for a short period in order to recover myself. Those sensations arose from my knowledge that he had now been absent from Chihuahua ten months and it had cost the king of Spain more than \$10,000 to effect that which a mere accident and the deception of the governor had effected.

Malgares, finding I did not feel myself at ease, took every means in his power to banish my reserve, which made it impossible on my part not to endeavor to appear cheerful. We conversed as well as we could and in two hours were as well acquainted as some people would be in the same number of months. Malgares possessed none of the haughty Castilian pride, but much of the urbanity of a Frenchman; and I will add my feeble testimony to his loyalty by declaring that he was one of the few officers or citizens whom I found who were loyal to their king, felt indignant at the degraded state of the Spanish monarchy, and deprecated a revolution or separation of Spanish America from the mother country, unless France should usurp the government of Spain. These are the men who possess the heads to plan, the hearts

Zebulon M. Pike

to feel, and the hands to carry this great and important work into execution. In the afternoon our friend wrote the following notification to the alcaldes of several small villages around us: "Send this evening six or eight of your handsomest young girls to the village of St. Fernandez, where I propose giving a fandango for the entertainment of the American officers arrived this day.

[Signed] Don Faciendo."

This order was punctually obeyed, and [it] portrays more clearly than a chapter of observations the degraded state of the common people. In the evening when the company arrived the ball began after their usual manner, and there was really a handsome display of beauty.

It will be proper to mention here that when my small trunk [of papers] was brought in Lieut. Malgares struck his foot against it and said: "The governor informs me this is a prisoner of war, or that I have charge of it, but, sir, only assure me that you will hold the papers therein contained sacred [and] I will have nothing to do with it." I bowed assent, and I will only add that the condition was scrupulously adhered to, as I was bound by every tie of military and national honor, and, let me add, gratitude not to abuse his high confidence in the honor of a soldier. He further added that "Robinson being now acknowledged as one of your party, I shall

The Southwestern Expedition

withdraw his guard and consider him as under your parole of honor." Those various marks of politeness and friendship caused me to endeavor to evince to my brother soldier that we were capable of appreciating his honorable conduct towards us.

9th March, Monday: The troops marched about ten o'clock. Lieut. Malgares and myself accompanied Captain D'Almansa about three miles back on his route to Santa Fe to the house of a citizen, where we dined, after which we separated. I wrote by the captain to the governor in French and to Father Rubi in English. D'Almansa presented me with his cap and whip and gave me a letter of recommendation to an officer at Chihuahua. We returned to our old quarters and, being joined by our waiters, commenced our route. Passed a village called St. Thomas one mile distant from the camp. The camp was formed in an ellipsis, the two long sides presenting a breast-work formed of the saddles and heads of the mules, each end of the ellipsis having a small opening to pass and repass at; in the center was the commandant's tent. Thus in case of an attack on the camp there were ready-formed works to fight from. Malgares' mode of living was superior to anything we have an idea of in our army, having eight mules loaded with his common camp equipage, wines, confectionery, etc. But this only served to evince the corruption of the Spanish discipline, for if

Zebulon M. Pike

a subaltern indulged himself with such a quantity of baggage, what would be the cavalcade attending on an army? Doctor Robinson had been called over the river to a small village to see a sick woman and did not return that night. Distance twelve miles.

10th March, Tuesday: Marched at eight o'clock and arrived at the village of Sibilleta. Passed on the way the village of Sabineze on the west side and Xaxales on the same side. Sibilleta¹ is situated on the east side and is a regular square, appearing like a large mud wall on the outside, the doors, windows, etc., facing the square, and is the neatest and most regular village I have yet seen. It is governed by a sergeant, at whose quarters I put up.

11th March, Wednesday: Marched at eleven o'clock. Came twelve miles and encamped, the troops having preceded us. Lieutenant Malgares, not being well, took medicine. The village we stayed at last night being the last, we now entered the wilderness and the road became rough, small hills running into the river, making valleys; but the bottoms appear richer than those more to the north.

12th March, Thursday: Marched at seven o'clock and passed on the west side of the river the mountains of Magdalen [and] the Black Mountains on the east. Passed the encampment of the caravan going out with about 15,000 sheep for the other provinces, from

¹ Across the river from modern La Joya. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

which they bring back merchandise. This expedition consisted of about 300 men, chiefly citizens, escorted by an officer and thirty-five or forty troops. They are collected at Sibilleta, and separate there on their return. They go out in February and return in March; a similar expedition goes out in the autumn. During the other parts of the year no citizen travels the road, the couriers excepted. At the pass of the Rio del Norte they meet and exchange packets, when each return to their own province. Met a caravan of 50 men and probably 200 horses, loaded with goods for New Mexico. Halted at twelve o'clock and marched at three. Lieut. Malgares showed me the place where he had been in two affairs with the Apaches; one he commanded himself, and the other was commanded by Captain D'Almansa. In the former there was one Spaniard killed and eight wounded, and ten Apaches made prisoners; in the latter fifty-two Apaches were wounded and seventeen killed, they being surprised in the night. Malgares killed two himself, and had two horses killed under him.

13th March, Friday: Marched at seven o'clock. Saw many deer. Halted at eleven o'clock and marched at four o'clock. This day one of our horses threw a young woman and ran off (as was the habit of all the Spanish horses, if by chance they throw their rider) when many of the dragoons and Malgares pursued him. I, being mounted on an elegant

Zebulon M. Pike

horse of Malgares, joined in the chase and notwithstanding their superior horsemanship overtook the horse, caught his bridle, and stopped him when both of the horses were nearly at full speed. This act procured me the applause of the Spanish dragoons, and it is astonishing how much it operated on their good will.

14th March, Saturday: Marched at ten o'clock and halted at a mountain; distance ten miles. This is the point from which the road leaves the river for two days' journey bearing due south, the river taking a turn southwest. By the river [it is] five days to where the roads meet.¹ We marched at four o'clock and eight miles below crossed the river to the west side. Two mules fell into the water, and unfortunately they carried the stores of Lieutenant Malgares, by which means we lost all our bread, an elegant assortment of biscuit, etc. Distance eighteen miles.

15th March, Sunday: Marched at half past ten o'clock. Made twenty-eight miles, the route rough and stony; course S. 20° W.

16th March, Monday: Marched at seven o'clock and halted at twelve. Passed on the east side the Horse Mountain and the Mountain of the Dead. Came on a trail of appear-

¹ This stretch of road, seventy-eight miles in length was known by the expressive name *Jornada del Muerto*—journey of death. Its evil character was due to the fact that water could be obtained, if at all, only with great difficulty. Pike's conductor chose to avoid it by taking the longer, roundabout route.

The Southwestern Expedition

ance of 200 horses, supposed to be the trail of an expedition from the province of Biscay against the Indians.

17th March, Tuesday: Marched at ten o'clock, and at four in the afternoon crossed the river to the east side. Saw several fresh Indian tracks, also the trail of a large party of horses, supposed to be Spanish troops in pursuit of the Indians. Marched down the river twenty-six miles. Fresh sign of Indians, also of a party of horses. Country mountainous on both sides of the river.

18th March, Wednesday: Marched down the river twenty-six miles. Fresh sign of Indians, also a party of horses. Country mountainous on both sides of the river.¹

19th March, Thursday: Struck out east about three miles and fell in with the main road, on a large flat prairie, which we left at the mountain of the Friar Christopher.²

20th March, Friday: Halted at ten o'clock at a salt lake. Marched until two o'clock, halted for the day.³ Vegetation began to be discoverable on the seventeenth and this day the weeds and grass were quite high.

¹ Apparently this entry is an inadvertent duplication of the one for the preceding day. The entry properly pertaining to this day is lost.

² That is, the party had now regained the main road which it had left on the fourteenth, in order to avoid the *Jornada del Muerto*.

³ In the vicinity of Montoyo, Texas, in the extreme western corner of the state. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

21st March, Saturday: Marched in the morning and arrived at the Passo del Norte¹ at eleven o'clock, the road leading through a hilly and mountainous country. We put up at the house of Don Francisco Garcia, who was a merchant and a planter. He possessed in the vicinity of the town 20,000 sheep and 1,000 cows. We were received in a most hospitable manner by Don Pedro Roderique Rey, the lieutenant governor, and Father Joseph Prado, the vicar of the place. This was by far the most flourishing place we had been in.

22d March, Sunday: Remained at the Passo.

23d March, Monday: Mass performed; leave the Passo at three o'clock to Fort Elisi-aira, accompanied by the lieutenant governor, the vicar, and Allencaster, a brother of the governor. Malgares, myself, and the Doctor took up our quarters at the house of Captain _____, who was then at Chihuahua, but his lady and sister entertained us in a very elegant and hospitable manner. They began playing cards and continued until late the third day. Malgares, who won considerably, would send frequently fifteen or twenty dollars from the table to the lady of the house, her sister, and others, and beg their acceptance in order

¹ The "Passo" of Pike's journal was the Mexican town on the opposite side of the river from modern El Paso, Texas. In crossing the river here, Pike crossed the present boundary between the states of Texas and Chihuahua.

The Southwestern Expedition

that the goddess of fortune might still continue propitious; in this manner he distributed \$500.

Around this fort were a great number of Apaches, who were on a treaty with the Spaniards. These people appeared to be perfectly independent in their manners and were the only savages I saw in the Spanish dominions whose spirit was not humbled, whose necks were not bowed to the yoke of their invaders. With those people Malgares was extremely popular, and I believe he sought popularity with them and all the common people, for there was no man so poor or so humble, under whose roof he would not enter; and when he walked out I have seen him put a handful of dollars in [to] his pocket [and] give them all to the old men, women, and children before he returned to his quarters, but to equals he was haughty and overbearing. This conduct he pursued through the whole province of New Mexico and Biscay, when at a distance from the seat of government, but I could plainly perceive that he was cautious of his conduct as he approached the capital. I here left a letter for my sergeant.

24th March, Tuesday: Very bad weather.

25th March, Wednesday: The troops marched, but Lieut. Malgares and my men remained.

26th March, Thursday: Divine service was performed in the morning in the garrison, at which all the troops attended under arms. At one part of their mass they present arms, at

Zebulon M. Pike

another, sink on one knee and rest the muzzle of the gun on the ground, in signification of their submission to their divine master. At one o'clock we bade adieu to our friendly hostess, who was one of the finest women I had seen in New Spain.¹ At dusk arrived at a small pond made by a spring, which arose in the center, called the *Ogo Mall a Ukap*, and seemed formed by providence to enable the human race to pass that route, as it was the only water within sixty miles on the route. Here we overtook Sergeant Belardie with the party of dragoons from Senora and Biscay, who had left us at Fort Elisiaira, where we had received a new escort. Distance twenty miles.

27th March, Friday: Arrived at Carracal [Carrizal] at twelve o'clock. Distance twenty-eight miles; the road well watered and the situation pleasant. The father-in-law of our friend commanded six or seven years here. When we arrived at the fort the commandant, Don Pedro Rues Saramende received Robinson and myself with a cold bow and informed Malgares that we could repair to the public quarters. To this Malgares indignantly replied that he should accompany us, and turned to go, when the commandant took him by the arm [and] made many apologies to him

¹ They were about to take the road for Chihuahua via Carrizal. Coues states that there were two roads from El Paso to Carrizal; the one which Pike's party took led directly south from El Paso, over the route where the railroad now runs.

The Southwestern Expedition

and us, and we at length reluctantly entered his quarters. Here for the first time I saw the gazettes of Mexico, which gave rumors of Colonel Burr's conspiracies, the movements of our troops, etc., etc., but which were stated in so vague and undefined a manner as only to create our anxiety without throwing any light on the subject.

28th March, Saturday: Marched at half past three o'clock and arrived at the Warm Springs at sundown. Crossed one little fosse on the route.

29th March, Sunday: Marched at ten o'clock and continued our route, with but a short halt, until sundown, when we encamped without water. Distance thirty miles.

30th March, Monday: Marched before seven o'clock; the front [men] arrived at water at eleven o'clock, the mules at twelve. The spring on the side of the mountain to the east of the road [is] a beautiful situation. I here saw the first ash timber I observed in the country. This water is fifty-two miles from the Warm Springs. Yesterday and today see cabrie. Marched fifteen miles farther and encamped without wood or water. Passed two other small springs to the east of the road.

31st March, Tuesday: Marched early and arrived at an excellent spring at ten o'clock. The roads from Senora, Tanos, and Buena-ventura, etc., join about 400 yards before you arrive at the spring.

Zebulon M. Pike

Arrived at the village of _____ at night, a large and elegant house for the country; here were various labors carried on by criminals in irons. We here met with a Catalonian, who was but a short time from Spain, and whose dialect was such that he could scarcely be understood by Malgares, and whose manners were much more like those of a citizen of our western frontiers than of a subject of a despotic prince.

1st April, Wednesday: In the morning Malgares dispatched a courier with a letter to the Commandant-general Salcedo to inform him of our approach, and also one to his father-in-law.

2d April, Thursday: When we arrived at Chihuahua we pursued our course through the town to the house of the general. I was much astonished to see with what anxiety Malgares anticipated the meeting with his military chief. After having been on the most arduous and enterprising expedition ever undertaken by any of his Majesty's officers from these provinces, and having executed it with equal spirit and judgment, yet was he fearful of his meeting him with an eye of displeasure, and appeared to be much more agitated than ourselves, although we may be supposed to have also had our sensations, as on the will of this man depended our future destiny, at least until our country could interfere in our behalf. On our arrival at the general's we were halted in the hall of the guard until word was sent

The Southwestern Expedition

to the general of our arrival, when Malgares was first introduced. He remained some time, during which a Frenchman came up and endeavored to enter into conversation with us, but was soon frowned into silence as we conceived he was only some authorized spy. Malgares at last came out and asked me to walk in. I found the general sitting at his desk. He was a middle-sized man, apparently about fifty-five years of age, with a stern countenance, but he received me graciously and beckoned to a seat.

He then observed, "You have given us and yourself a great deal of trouble."

Captain Pike. On my part entirely unsought, and on that of the Spanish government voluntary.

General. Where are your papers?

Captain Pike. Under charge of Lieutenant Malgares.

[Malgares] was then ordered to have my small trunk brought in, which being done, a Lieutenant Walker came in, who is a native of New Orleans, his father an Englishman, his mother a French woman, and [who] spoke both those languages equally well, also the Spanish. He was a lieutenant of dragoons in the Spanish service and master of the military school at Chihuahua. This same young gentleman was employed by Mr. Andrew Ellicott as a deputy surveyor on the Florida line between the United States and Spain in the years

Zebulon M. Pike

'97 and '98.¹ General Salcedo then desired him to assist me in taking out my papers and requested me to explain the nature of each, and such as he conceived were relevant to the expedition he caused to be laid on one side, and those which were not of a public nature on the other; the whole either passing through the hands of the general or Walker, except a few letters from my lady, which on my taking up and saying they were letters from a lady the general gave a proof that if the ancient Spanish bravery had degenerated in the nation generally, their gallantry still existed, by bowing, and I put them in my pocket. He then informed me that he would examine the papers, but that in the meanwhile he wished me to make out and present to him a short sketch of my voyage, which might probably be satisfactory. This I would have positively refused had I had an idea that it was his determination to keep my papers, which I could not at that time conceive, from the urbanity and satisfaction which he appeared to exhibit on the event

¹ Andrew Ellicott, a native of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, became a noted surveyor and astronomer. In 1790 he was directed by President Washington to lay out the city of Washington. In 1792 he became surveyor-general of the United States, and in 1796 Washington appointed him to run the boundary between the United States and Spain east of the Mississippi. This work he did in the years 1796-1800. He died in 1820 while serving as professor of mathematics at West Point.

The Southwestern Expedition

of our interview. He then told me that I would take up my quarters with Walker in order, as he said, to be better accommodated by having a person with me who spoke the English language; but the object, as I suspected, was for him to be a spy on our actions and on those who visited us.

Robinson all this time had been standing in the guard-room, boiling with indignation at being so long detained there, subject to the observations of the soldiery and [the] gaping curiosity of the vulgar. He was now introduced by some mistake of one of the aides-de-camp. He appeared and made a slight bow to the general, who demanded of Malgares who he was? He replied a doctor who accompanied the expedition. "Let him retire," said the general, and he went out. The general then invited me to return and dine with him, and we went to the quarters of Walker, where we received several different invitations to take quarters at houses where we might be better accommodated, but understanding that the general had designated our quarters we were silent.

We returned to dine at the palace, where we met Malgares, who, with ourselves, was the only guest. He had at the table the treasurer, Truxillio, and a priest called Father Rocus.

3d April, Friday: Employed in giving a sketch of our voyage for the general and commandant of those provinces. Introduced to

Zebulon M. Pike

Don Bernardo Villamil, Don Alberto Mayner, lieutenant colonel, and father-in-law to Malgares, and Don Manuel Zuloaga, a member of the secretary's office, to whom I am under obligations of gratitude and shall remember with esteem. Visited his house in the evening.

4th April, Saturday: Visited the hospital, where were two officers who were fine-looking men, and I was informed had been the gayest young men of the province, who were moldering away by disease, and there was not a physician in his Majesty's hospitals who was able to cure them, but after repeated attempts had given them up to perish. This shows the deplorable state of the medical science in the provinces. I endeavored to get Robinson to undertake the cure of these poor fellows, but the jealousy and envy of the Spanish doctors made it impracticable.

5th April, Sunday: Visited by Lieutenant Malgares with a very polite message from his Excellency, and delivered in the most impressive terms, with offers of assistance, money, etc., for which I returned my respectful thanks to the general. Accompanied Malgares to the public walk, where we found the secretary, Captain Villamil, Zuloaga, and other officers of distinction. We here, likewise, met the wife of my friend Malgares, to whom he introduced us. She was, like all the other ladies of New Spain, a little *en bon point*, but possessed the national beauty of eye in superior degree. There was a

The Southwestern Expedition

large collection of ladies, amongst whom were two of the most celebrated in the capital—Señora Maria Con. Caberarie, and Señora Marguerite Vallois, the only two ladies who had spirit sufficient, and their husbands generosity enough, to allow them to think themselves rational beings, to be treated on an equality, to receive the visits of their friends, and give way to the hospitality of their dispositions without constraint. They were, consequently, the envy of the ladies and the subject of scandal to prudes. Their houses were the rendezvous of all the fashionable male society, and every man who was conspicuous for science, arts, or arms was sure to meet a welcome. We, as unfortunate strangers, were consequently not forgotten. I returned with Malgares to the house of his father-in-law, Lieutenant-Colonel Mayner, who was originally from Cadiz, a man of good information.

6th April, Monday: Dined with the general. Writing, etc. In the evening visited Malgares and the secretary. After dinner wine was set on the table and we were entertained with songs in the French, Italian, Spanish, and English languages. Accustomed as I was to sitting some time after dinner, I forgot their *siesta*, or repose after dinner, until Walker suggested the thing to me, when we retired.

7th April, Tuesday: Dined at Don Antonio Caberarie's, in company with Villamil, Zuloaga, Walker, etc. Sent in a sketch of my

Zebulon M. Pike

voyage to the general. Spent the evening at Colonel Mayner's with Malgares.

8th April, Wednesday: Visited the treasurer, who showed me the double-barrel gun given by Governor Claiborne,¹ and another formerly the property of Nolan.

9th April, Thursday: In the evening was informed that David Fero² was in town and wished to speak to me. This man had formerly been my father's ensign, and was taken with Nolan's party at the time the latter was killed. He possessed a brave soul, and had withstood every oppression since his being made prisoner with astonishing fortitude. Although his leaving the place of his confinement, the village of St. Jeronimie, [San Jeronimo] without the knowledge of the general was in some measure clandestine, yet a countryman, an acquaintance, and formerly a brother soldier, in a strange land, in distress, had ventured much to see me—could I deny him the interview from any motives of delicacy? No; forbid it,

¹ William C. C. Claiborne, a native of Virginia, located at Nashville, Tenn., where he served in Congress. In 1802 he was appointed governor of Mississippi Territory, and in 1804, governor of the newly-acquired Louisiana Territory. He subsequently served as governor of the state of Louisiana, and was elected to the U. S. Senate, but before taking the latter office he died at New Orleans, Nov. 23, 1817.

² David Fero, Jr., was an ensign in the Third Sub-Legion from May 12, 1794, to Nov. 1, 1796. He was then transferred to the Third Infantry, promoted to the rank of lieutenant Oct. 3, 1798, and resigned July 22, 1799.

The Southwestern Expedition

humanity! forbid it every sentiment of my soul!

Our meeting was affecting, tears standing in his eyes. He informed me the particulars of their being taken, and many other circumstances since their being in the country. I promised to do all I could for him consistent with my character and honor, and their having entered the country without the authority of the United States. As he was obliged to leave the town before day, he called on me at my quarters, when I bade him adieu and gave him what my purse afforded, not what my heart dictated.

10th April, Friday: In the evening at Colonel Mayner's. Captain Rodriques arrived from the province of Texas, who had been under arrest one year for going to Natchitoches with the Marquis Cassa Calvo.

11th April, Saturday: Rode out in the coach with Malgares; was hospitably entertained at the house of one of the Vallois, where we drank London porter. Visited Secretary Villamil.

12th April, Sunday: Dined, with the Doctor, at Don Antonio Caberarie's with our usual guests. In the evening at the public walks.

13th April, Monday: Nothing extraordinary.

14th April, Tuesday: Spent the forenoon in writing; the afternoon at Don Antonio Caberarie's.

15th April, Wednesday: Spent the evening at Colonel Mayner's with our friend Malgares.

Zebulon M. Pike

Wrote a letter to Governor Salcedo on the subject of my papers.

16th April, Thursday: Spent the evening at the secretary's, Don Villamil's.

17th April, Friday: Sent my letter to his Excellency. Spent the evening with my friend Malgares.

18th April, Saturday: Spent the evening at Caberarie's, etc. Wrote to Governor Allencaster.

19th April, Sunday: In the evening at a fandango.

20th April, Monday: We this day learned that an American officer had gone on to the city of Mexico. This was an enigma to us inexplicable, as we conceived that the jealousy of the Spanish government would have prevented any foreign officer from penetrating the country; and what the United States could send an authorized agent to the vice royalty [for] when the Spanish government had at the seat of our government a chargé d'affaires, served but to darken the conjectures. The person alluded to was Mr. Burling, a citizen of the Mississippi Territory, whose mission is now well known to the government. We likewise received an account of a commercial treaty having been entered into between Great Britain and the United States, which by the Dons was only considered as the preliminary step to an alliance offensive and defensive between the two nations.

The Southwestern Expedition

21st April, Tuesday: Presented the commanding general with a letter for General Wilkinson, which he promised to have forwarded to the governor of Texas.

22d April, Wednesday: Spent the day in reading and studying Spanish; the evening at Captain Villamil's.

23d April, Thursday: Dined at Don Pedro Vallois; [spent] the evening with Colonel Mainer. Bade him adieu, as he was to march the next day. In the evening received a letter from the commandant general informing me my papers were to be detained, giving a certificate of their numbers, contents, etc., etc.

24th April, Friday: Spent the evening at Zuloaga's with his relations. About sundown an officer of the government called on me, and told me that the government had been informed that in conversations in all societies Robinson and myself had held forth political maxims and principles which, if just, I must be conscious, if generally disseminated, would in a very few years be the occasion of a revolt of those kingdoms; that those impressions had taken such effect as that it was no uncommon thing in circles in which we associated to hear the comparative principles of a republican and a monarchical government discussed, and even the allegiance due (in case of certain events) to the court called in question; that various characters of consideration had indulged themselves in those conversations, all of whom were noted

Zebulon M. Pike

and would be taken care of; but that, as it respected myself and companion, it was the desire of his Excellency that whilst in the dominions of Spain we would not hold forth any conversations whatsoever either on the subject of religion or politics.

I replied that it was true I had held various and free conversations on the subjects complained of, but only with men high in office, who might be supposed to be firmly attached to the king, and partial to the government of their country; that I had never gone amongst the poor and illiterate preaching up republicanism or a free government; that as to the Catholic religion, I had only combated some of what I conceived to be its illiberal dogmas, but that I had spoken of it in all instances as a respectable branch of the Christian religion, which, as well as all others, was tolerated in the United States; but that, had I come to that kingdom in a diplomatic character, delicacy towards the government would have sealed my lips; had I been a prisoner of war, personal safety might have had the same effect; but being there in the capacity which I was, not voluntarily, but by coercion of the Spanish government, but, who, at the same time had officially notified me that they did not consider me under any restraint whatever—therefore, when called on [I] should always give my opinions freely, either as to politics or religion; but at the same time with urbanity and a

The Southwestern Expedition

proper respect to the legitimate authorities of the country where I was.

He replied, "Well, you may then rest assured your conduct will be represented in no very favorable point of view to your government."

I replied, "To my government I am certainly responsible, and to no other." He then left me and I immediately waited on some of my friends and notified them of the threat, at which they appeared much alarmed, and we went immediately to consult _____, who to great attachment to his friends joined the most incorruptible loyalty and the confidence of the government. Our consultation ended in a determination only to be silent and watch events.

We suspected [Walker] to be the informant, but whether just in our suspicion or not I will not pretend to determine, for Robinson and myself frequently used to hold conversations in his presence purposely to have them communicated; but he at last discovered our intentions and told us that if we calculated on making him a carrier of news we were mistaken; that he despised it.

25th April, Saturday: At eleven o'clock called on his Excellency, but was informed he was engaged. About three o'clock received a message from him by Lieutenant Walker informing me that he was surprised I had not returned, and to call without ceremony in the

Zebulon M. Pike

evening, which I did, and presented him with a letter. He then also candidly informed me my party would not join me in the territory of the king of Spain, but that they should be attended to punctually and forwarded on immediately after me; but requested that I should give orders to my sergeant to deliver up all his ammunition and dispose in some manner of the horses of which he had charge. I stated in reply that with respect to the ammunition, I would give orders to my sergeant to deliver (if demanded) all they possessed more than was necessary to fill their horns; but that as to the horses, I considered their loss was a charge which must be adjusted between the two governments, therefore should not give any directions respecting them, except as to bringing them on as far and as long as they were able to travel. He then gave me an invitation to dine with him on the morrow.

26th April, Sunday: Dined at the general's. In the evening went to Malgares', Zuloaga's and others. Wrote to my sergeant and Fero, to the latter of whom I sent ten dollars, and to the other \$161.84, to purchase clothes for the party. We had been for some time suspicious that the Doctor was to be detained, but this evening he likewise obtained permission to pursue his journey with me, which diffused general joy through all the party.

27th April, Monday: Spent the day in making arrangements for our departure, writing to

The Southwestern Expedition

the sergeant, etc. I will here mention some few anecdotes relative to [Walker], with whom we boarded during our stay in Chihuahua. When we came to the city we went to his quarters (by order of the general) and considered ourselves as guests, having not the least idea that we should be charged with board, knowing with what pleasure any American officer would receive and entertain a foreign brother soldier situated as we were, and that we would conceive it a great insult to be offered pay under similar circumstances. But one day after we had been there about a week he presented to me an account for Robinson's and my board, receipted, and begged, if the general inquired of me, that I would say I had paid it. This naturally led me to demand how the thing originated. He, with considerable embarrassment, observed that he had taken the liberty to remark to the general that he thought he should be allowed an extra allowance in order to be enabled to treat us with some little distinction. The general flew into a most violent passion and demanded if I had not paid him for our board? To which the other replied, No, he did not expect pay of us. He ordered him immediately to demand pay, to receive it, sign a receipt, and lodge it in his hands, and added he would consult me [to learn] if the thing was done, which he never did, yet I took care every Sunday after that to deposit in the hands of Walker a sum which was consid-

Zebulon M. Pike

ered the proportion for Robinson and myself. Malgares and several other of the Spanish officers, having heard of the thing, waited on us much mortified, saying with what pleasure they would have entertained us had not the designation of the general pointed out his will on the subject.

[Walker] had living with him an old negro, the only one I saw on that side of Saint Antonio, who was the property of some person who resided near Natchez, who had been taken with Nolan. Having been acquainted with him in the Mississippi country, [he] solicited and obtained permission for old Cæsar to live with him. I found him very communicative and extremely useful. The day I arrived, when we were left alone he came in and looked around at the walls of the room and exclaimed, "What! all gone?" I demanded an explanation, and he informed me that the maps of the different provinces, as taken by [Walker] and other surveyors, had been hung up against the walls, but the day we arrived they had all been taken down and deposited in a closet which he designated. Walker gave various reasons for his having left the United States and joined the Spanish service, one of which was his father having been ill-treated, as he conceived, by G. at Natchez. At Chihuahua he had charge of the military school, which consisted of about fifteen young men of the first families of the provinces; also of the public

The Southwestern Expedition

water-works of the city on a plan devised by the royal engineer of Mexico; of the building of a new church; of the casting of small artillery, fabrication of arms, etc., etc. Thus, though he had tendered his resignation, they knew his value too well to part with him and would not accept of it, but still kept him in a subordinate station in order that he might be the more dependent and the more useful. Although he candidly confessed his disgust at their service, manners, morals, and political establishments, yet he never made a communication to us which he was bound in honor to conceal; but on the contrary fulfilled the station of informer, which in that country is considered no disgrace, with great punctuality and fidelity. In this city the proverb was literally true that "the walls have ears," for there was scarcely anything could pass that his Excellency did not know in a few hours after. In the evening I was notified to be ready to march the next day at three o'clock.

28th April, Tuesday: In the morning Malgares waited on us and informed us he was to accompany us some distance on the route. After bidding adieu to all our friends [we] marched at a quarter past three o'clock, and encamped at nine o'clock at night at a spring (stony). Passed near Chihuahua a small ridge of mountains and there encamped in a hollow.

This day as [we] were riding along Malgares

Zebulon M. Pike

rode up to me and informed me that the general had given orders that I should not be permitted to make any astronomical observations. To this I replied that he well knew I never had attempted making any since I was conducted into the Spanish dominions.

29th April, Wednesday: Arrived at a settlement at eight o'clock; plenty of milk, etc. When about to make my journal Malgares changed color and informed me it was his orders I should not take notes, but added, "You have a good memory, and when you get to Cogquilla [Coahuila] you can bring it all up." At first I felt considerably indignant, and was on the point of refusing to comply; but thinking for a moment of the many politenesses I had received from his hands, induced me merely to bow assent with a smile and we proceeded on our route, but had not proceeded far before I made a pretext to halt, established my boy as a vidette and sat down peaceably under a bush and made my notes, etc. This course I pursued ever after, not without some very considerable degree of trouble to separate myself from the party.

Arrived at the fort of St. Paul at eleven o'clock, situated on a small river of the same name, the course of which is northeast by southwest. At the time we were there the river¹ was not wider than a mill stream, but

¹ The Rio Dan Pedro, a tributary of the Conchos. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

sometimes it is 300 yards wide and impassable. Distance thirty miles.

30th April, Thursday: Marched at six o'clock and at eleven arrived at the river Conchos,¹ twenty-four miles. Beautiful green trees on its banks. I was taken very sick at half past ten o'clock. Arrived at night at a small station on the river Conchos, garrisoned by a sergeant and ten men from Fort Conchos, fifteen leagues up said river. Distance forty-three miles.

1st May, Friday: Marched up the Conchos to its confluence with the river Florada,² fifteen leagues from where we left the former river, and took up the latter, which bears from the Conchos S. 80° and 50° E. On its banks are some very flourishing settlements, and they are well timbered. A poor miserable village³ at the confluence. Came ten miles up the Florada to dinner, and at night stopped at a private house. This property or plantation was valued formerly at \$300,000, extending on the Florada from the small place we slept at on the last of April thirty leagues up said river. Distance forty-five miles.

Finding that a new species of discipline had taken place and that the suspicions of my friend Malgares were much more acute than ever, I conceived it necessary to take some steps to secure the notes I had taken, which

¹ At the site of Samcillo. Coues.

² The Rio Florido.

³ Santa Rosalia.

Zebulon M. Pike

were clandestinely acquired. In the night I arose and after making my men charge all their pieces well I took my small books and rolled them up in small rolls and tore a fine shirt to pieces and wrapped it round the papers and put them down in the barrels of the guns, until we just left room for the tampons, which were then carefully put in; the remainder we secured about our bodies under our shirts. This occupied about two hours, but was effected without discovery and without suspicions.

2d May, Saturday: Marched early, and in four and a quarter hours arrived at Guaxequillo [Guajuquilla], situated on the river Florada, where we were to exchange our friend Malgares for Captain Barelo, who was a Mexican by birth, born near the capital, and entered as a cadet at Guaxequillo near twenty years past, and by his extraordinary merits, being a Creolian, had been promoted to a captain, which was even by himself considered as his ultimate promotion. He was a gentleman in his manners, generous and frank, and, I believe, a good soldier.

3d May, Sunday: At Guaxequillo the captain gave up his command to Malgares. At night the officers gave a ball at which appeared at least sixty women, ten or a dozen of whom were very handsome.

4th May, Monday: Don Hyman Guloo arrived from Chihuahua, accompanied by a citizen and the friar, who had been arrested

The Southwestern Expedition

by order of the commandant-general and was on his way to Mexico for trial.

5th May, Tuesday: The party marched with all the spare horses and baggage.

6th May, Wednesday: Marched at five o'clock. Ascended the river four miles, when we left it to our right and took off south 60° , east eight miles. Our friend Malgares accompanied us a few miles, to whom we bade an eternal adieu, if war does not bring us together in the field of battle opposed as the most deadly enemies when our hearts acknowledge the greatest friendship. Halted at ten o'clock and marched again at four. No water on the road. Detached a Spanish soldier in search of some, who did not join us until twelve o'clock at night. Encamped in the open prairie. No wood or water except what the soldier brought us in gourds. The mules came up at eleven o'clock at night. Distance thirty miles.

7th May, Thursday: Marched very early; wind fresh from the south. The punctuality of Captain Barelo as to hours was remarkable. Arrived at half past nine o'clock at a spring, the first water from Guaxequillo. The mules did not unload, but continued on nine miles to another spring at the foot of a mountain; good pasturage round it; mountains on each side all day. Distance twenty-eight miles.

8th May, Friday: Marched [early]; at five miles due west [passed] through a gap in the mountains, then turned S. 20° E. and more

Zebulon M. Pike

south to a river¹ about twenty feet wide [with] high steep banks, now dry except in holes, but sometimes full and impassable. Halted at seven o'clock and sent on the loaded mules. Marched at five o'clock; came ten miles and encamped without water. Distance eighteen miles.

9th May, Saturday: Marched between four and five o'clock and arrived at Pelia [Pelayo] at eight. This is only a station for a few soldiers, but [it] is surrounded by mines. At this place are two large warm springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, and this is the water obliged to be used by the party who are stationed here. Here we remained all day. Captain Barelo had two beeves killed for his and my men and charged nothing to either. Here he received orders from the general to lead us through the wilderness to Montelovez [Monclova], in order that we should not approximate to the frontiers of Mexico, which we should have done by the usual route of Pattos [Patos], Paras [Parras] etc.

10th May, Sunday: Marched past one copper mine now diligently worked. At this place the proprietor had 100,000 sheep, cattle, horses, etc. Arrived at the Cadena, a house built and occupied by a priest. It is situated on a small stream at the pass of the mountains² called by the Spaniards the Door of the Prison,

¹ The El Andabazo. Coues.

² The Sierra de las Nimbres. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

from its being surrounded with mountains. The proprietor was at Sumbraretto,¹ distant six days' march. This hacienda was obliged to furnish accommodations to all travelers.

Marched at five o'clock and passed the chain of mountains due east twelve miles, and encamped without water. Distance thirty-one miles.

11th May, Monday: Marched, and arrived at Maupeme [Mapimi] at eight o'clock, a village situated at the foot of mountains of minerals, where they worked eight or nine mines. The mass of the people were naked and starved wretches. The proprietor of the mines gave us an elegant repast. Here the orders of Salcedo were explained to me by the captain. I replied that they excited my laughter, as there were disaffected persons sufficient to serve as guides should an army ever come into the country.

Came on three miles farther, where were fig trees and a fruit called by the French *La Grain*, situated on a little stream which flowed through the gardens and formed a terrestrial paradise. Here we remained all day sleeping in the shade of the fig trees, and at night continued our residence in the garden. We obliged the inhabitants with a ball, who expressed great anxiety for a relief from their present distressed state and a change of government.

12th May, Tuesday: Was awoke in the morn-

¹ Sombrerito. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

ing by the singing of the birds and the perfumes of the trees around. I attempted to send two of my soldiers to town, when they were overtaken by a dragoon and ordered back. They returned, when I again ordered them to go, and if a soldier attempted to stop them to take him off his horse and flog him. This I did as I conceived it was the duty of the captain to explain his orders relative to me, which he had not done, and I conceived that this would bring on an explanation. They were pursued by a dragoon through the town, who rode after them making use of ill language. They attempted to catch him but could not. As I had mentioned my intentions of sending my men to town after some stores to Captain Barelo and he had not made any objections, I conceived it was acting with duplicity to send men to watch the movements of my messengers. I therefore determined they should punish the dragoons unless their captain had candor sufficient to explain the reasons for his not wishing the men to go to the town, in which wish I should undoubtedly have acquiesced; but as he never mentioned the circumstance I was guardedly silent, and the affair never interrupted our harmony.

We marched at five o'clock and came on fifteen miles and encamped without water. One mile on this side of the little village the road branches out into three, the right hand one by Pattos, Paras, Saltelo [Saltillo], etc.,

The Southwestern Expedition

being the main road to Mexico [City] and Saint Antonio. The road which we took leaves all the villages a little to the right, passing only some plantations. The left-hand one goes immediately through the mountains to Montelovez, but is dangerous for small parties on account of the savages. This road is called the route by the Bolson of Maupeme, and was first traveled by Monsieur De Croix, afterwards viceroy of Peru. In passing from Chihuahua to Texas by this route you make in seven days what it takes you fifteen or twenty by the ordinary one, but it is very scarce of water, and your guards must either be so strong as to defy the Apaches or calculate to escape them by swiftness, for they fill those mountains, whence they continually carry on a predatory war against the Spanish settlements and caravans.

We this day passed on to the territories of the Marquis de San Miq[el], who owns from the mountains of the Rio del Norte to some distance into the kingdom of Old Mexico.

13th May, Wednesday: Came on to the river Brasses¹ [in which was the] Rancho de Saint Antonio, part of the marquis' estate. My boy and self halted at the river Brasses to water our horses, having rode on ahead, and took the bridles from their mouths in order that they might drink freely, which they could not do with the Spanish bridles. The horse I rode had been accustomed to being held by his master

¹ The Rio Nasas. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

in a peculiar manner when bridled, and would not let me put it on again for a long time, when in the meantime my boy's horse ran away and it was out of our power to catch him again. But when we arrived at the Rancho we soon had out a number of boys, who brought in the horse and all his different equipments, which were scattered on the route. This certainly was a strong proof of their honesty, and [it] did not go unrewarded. In the evening we gave them a ball on the green, according to custom. We here learned that one peck of corn with three pounds of meat per week was the allowance given a grown person.

14th May, Thursday: Did not march until half-past four o'clock [P.M.]; about nine o'clock [A.M.] an officer arrived from St. Rosa¹ with twenty-four men and two Apaches in irons. They were noble-looking fellows, of large stature, and appeared by no means cast down by their misfortunes, although they knew their fate was [to be] transportation beyond the sea, never more to see their friends and relations. Knowing, as I did, the intention of the Spaniards towards those people, I would have liberated them if in my power. I went near them and gave them to understand we were friends, and conveyed to them some articles which would be of service if chance offered.

This day the thermometer stood at 30°

¹ About half way between Monclova and Presidio del Rio Grande. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

Réaumur, $99\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Fahrenheit, and the dust and drought of the road obliged us to march in the night, when we came fifteen miles and encamped without water. Indeed, this road, which the general obliged us to take, is almost impassable at this season for want of water, whilst the other is plentifully supplied.

15th May, Friday: Marched early and came on five miles, when we arrived at a pit dug in a hollow, which afforded a small quantity of muddy water for ourselves and beasts. Here we were obliged to remain all day in order to travel in the night, as our beasts could enjoy the benefit of water. Left this at half-past five o'clock and came on fifteen miles by eleven o'clock, when we encamped without water or food for our beasts. Passed a miserable burned up soil. Distance twenty miles.

16th May, Saturday: Marched two hours and arrived at a wretched habitation, where we drew water from a well for all the beasts. Marched in the evening and made fifteen miles farther. The right-hand road we left on this side of Maupeme [Mapimi], and joined it about four miles farther. Distance fifteen miles.

17th May, Sunday: Marched, and about seven o'clock came in sight of Parras, which we left on the right, and halted at the hacienda of St. Lorenzo, a short league to the north of said village. At the hacienda of St. Lorenzo was a young priest who was extremely anxious

Zebulon M. Pike

for a change of government, and [who] came to our beds and conversed for hours on the subject.

18th May, Monday: Marched early and came through a mountainous tract of country, but well watered and [with] houses situated here and there amongst the rocks. Joined the main road at a hacienda of _____ belonging to the Marquis de San Miq[g]uel, good gardens and fruit, also a fine stream. The mules did not arrive until late at night, when it had commenced raining.

19th May, Tuesday: Did not march until three o'clock, the captain not being very well. He here determined to take the main road, notwithstanding the orders of General Salcedo. Came on ten miles. Met a deserter from Captain Johnston's company. He returned and came to the camp and begged of me to take him back to his company, but I would not give any encouragement to the scoundrel, only a little change, as he was without a farthing.

20th May, Wednesday: Came to the hacienda of Pattos by nine o'clock. This is a handsome place, where the Marquis de San Miq[g]uel frequently spends his summers, the distance enabling him to come from Mexico in his coach in ten days. Here we met the Mexican post-rider going to Chewawa [Chihuahua]. Don Hymie [Hyman], who had left us at Paras, joined in a coach and six, in which we came out to a little settlement called Florida,

The Southwestern Expedition

one league from Pattos, due north. Distance eighteen miles.

The hacienda of Pattos was a square enclosure of about 300 feet, the building being one story high, but some of the apartments very elegantly furnished. In the center of the square was a jet d'eau which cast forth water from eight spouts, extended from a colossean female form. From this fountain all the neighboring inhabitants got their supply of water. The marquis had likewise a very handsome church, which, with its ornaments, cost him at least \$20,000, to officiate in which he maintained a little stiff, superstitious priest. In the rear of the palace, for so it might be called, was a fish-pond, in which were immense numbers of fine fish. The population of Florida is about 2,000 souls. This was our nearest point to the city of Mexico.

21st May, Thursday: Marched down the water-course over a rough and stony road about ten miles, when we left it on the right and came on eight miles farther to a horse range of the marquis's, where he had four of his soldiers as a guarda caballo.¹ Halted at half past nine o'clock. At this place² we had a spring of bad water.

22d May, Friday: Marched at three o'clock and came on sixteen miles to a small shed, and in the afternoon to la Rancho, eight miles to

¹ That is, as herders.

² Probably in the vicinity of Saucedo. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

the left of the main road, near the foot of the mountain, where was a pond of water but no houses. Some Spanish soldiers were here. We left Pattos Mountain on our left and right, but here there was a cross mountain over which we were to pass in the morning.

The marquis maintains 1,500 troops to protect his vassals and property from the savages. They are all cavalry, and as well dressed and armed as the king's, but are treated by the king's troops as if vastly inferior.

23d May, Saturday: Marched early and came to a spring in the mountain.

24th May, Sunday: Marched at an early hour and passed through the [pass in the] mountain (scarcely any road) called the mountain of the Three Rivers. At the thirteenth mile [we] joined the main road, which we had left to our right on the twenty-second instant, and in one hour after came to the main Mexican road from the eastern provinces; thence northwest to the Rancho, nine miles from Montelovez, whence the captain sent in an express to give notice of our approach.

25th May, Monday: In the afternoon Lieutenant Adams, commandant of the company of Montelovez, arrived in a coach and six to escort us to town, where we arrived about five o'clock. In the evening visited Captain de Ferara, the commandant of the troops of Cogquilla, and inspector of the five provinces.

Lieutenant Adams, who commanded this

The Southwestern Expedition

place, was the son of an Irish engineer in the service of Spain. He had married a rich girl of the Passo del Norte and they lived here in elegance and style for the country. We put up at his quarters and were very hospitably entertained.

26th May, Tuesday: Made preparations for marching the next day. I arose early, before any of our people were up, and walked nearly round the town and from the hill took a small survey with my pencil and a pocket compass, which I always carried with me. Returned and found them at breakfast, they having sent three or four of my men to search for me. The Spanish troops at this place were remarkably polite, always fronting and saluting when I passed. This I attributed to their commandant, Lieutenant Adams.

27th May, Wednesday: Marched at seven o'clock after taking an affectionate leave of Don Hyman, and at half past twelve arrived at the hacienda of Don Melcher, situated on the same stream of Montelovez.

Don Melcher was a man of very large fortune, polite, generous, and friendly. He had in his service a man who had deserted from Captain Lockwood's company, First Regiment of infantry, by the name of Pratt. From this man he had acquired a considerable quantity of crude undigested information relative to the United States, and when he met with us his thirst after knowledge of our laws and institutions

Zebulon M. Pike

appeared to be insatiable. He caused a fine large sheep to be killed and presented to my men.

28th May, Thursday: Marched early and arrived at Encina Hacienda¹ at ten o'clock. This place was owned by Don Barego.

When we arrived at the hacienda of Encina I found a youth of eighteen sitting in the house quite genteelly dressed, whom I immediately recognized from his physiognomy to be an American, and entered into conversation with him. He expressed great satisfaction at meeting a countryman, and we had a great deal of conversation. He sat at a table with us and partook of a cold collation of fruits and confectionery, but I was much surprised to learn shortly after we quit the table that he was a deserter from our army, on which I questioned him and he replied that his name was Griffith; [that] he had enlisted in Philadelphia, arrived at New Orleans, and deserted as soon as possible; that the Spaniards had treated him much better than his own countrymen, and that he should never return. I was extremely astonished at his insolence, and mortified that I should have been betrayed into any polite conduct towards the scoundrel. I told him that it was astonishing he should have had the impertinence to address himself to me, knowing that I was an American officer. He muttered something about being in a country where he was protected, etc., on which I told him [that]

¹ At or near the present town of Encinas. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

if he again opened his mouth to me I would instantly chastise him, notwithstanding his supposed protection. He was silent, and I called up one of my soldiers and told him in his hearing that if he attempted to mix with them to turn him out of company, which they executed by leading him to the door of their room a short time after, when he entered it. When dinner was nearly ready I sent a message to the proprietor that we assumed no right to say whom he should introduce to his table, but that we should think it a great indignity offered to a Spanish officer to attempt to set him down at the same board with a deserter from their army; and that if the man who was at the table in the morning was to make his appearance again we should decline eating at it. He replied, that it was [an] accident which [had] produced the event of the morning; that he was sorry our feelings had been injured; and that he would take care he did not appear again whilst we were there.

Our good friend Don Melcher here overtook us, and passed the evening with us.

This day we passed the last mountains and again entered the great Mississippi Valley, it being six months and thirteen days since we first came in sight of them. Distance twenty miles.

29th May, Friday: Marched at seven o'clock and came to the river Millada¹ and [a] rancho.²

¹ The main fork of Sabinas River. Coues.

² At the present site of Alamo. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

30th May, Saturday: Marched at five o'clock and arrived at the river Sabine at eight. Forded it. Marched in the evening at four o'clock, at ten encamped at the second ridge without water. Distance twenty-seven miles.

31st May, Sunday: Marched early, and at nine o'clock arrived at a rancho [and] a fine running water. Course east and west. Marched eight miles farther to a point of woods and encamped. No water. Distance twenty-three miles.

1st June, Monday: Arrived at the Presidio Rio Grande¹ at eight o'clock. This place was the position to which our friend Barelo was ordered, and which had been very highly spoken of to him, but he found himself miserably mistaken, for it was with the greatest difficulty we obtained anything to eat, which mortified him extremely. When at Chihuahua, General Salcedo had asked me if I had not lost a man by desertion, to which I replied in the negative. He then informed me that an American had arrived at the Presidio Rio Grande in the last year: that he had at first confined him, but that he was now released and practicing physic, and that he wished me to examine him on my arrival. I therefore had him sent for. The moment he entered the room I discovered he never had received a liberal education, or been accustomed to pol-

¹ Forty miles below Eagle Pass. Coues.

The Southwestern Expedition

ished society. I told him the reason that I had requested to see him, and that I had it in my power to serve him if I found him a character worthy of interference.

He then related the following story: That his name was Martin Henderson; that he was born in Rockbridge County, state of Virginia; that he had been brought up a farmer, but that, coming early to the state of Kentucky and [to] Tennessee, he had acquired a taste for a frontier life, and that in the spring of 1806 himself and four companions had left the Saline in the district of Saint Genevieve, Upper Louisiana, in order to penetrate through the woods to the province of Texas; that his companions had left him on the White River, and that he had continued on; that in swimming some western branch his horse sunk under him, and it was with difficulty he had made the shore with his gun. Here he waited two or three days until his horse rose, and he then got his saddle bags, but that all his notes on the country, courses, etc., were destroyed. He then proceeded on foot for a few days, when he was met by thirty or forty Osage warriors, who, on his telling them he was going to the Spaniards, were about to kill him, but on his saying he would go to the Americans they held a consultation over him and finally seized on his clothes and divided them between them; then his pistols, compass, dirk, and watch, which they took to pieces and hung in their

Zebulon M. Pike

noses and ears; then [they] stripped him naked, and round his body they found a belt with gold pieces sewed in it. This they also took, and finally seized on his gun and ammunition, and were marching off to leave him in that situation, but he followed them, thinking it better to be killed than [to be] left in that state to die by hunger and cold. The savages after some time halted, and one pulled off an old pair of leggings and gave him, another mockinsons, and a third a buffalo robe, and the one who had carried his heavy rifle had by this time become tired of his prize (they never using rifles) and they counted him out twenty-five charges of powder and ball, then sent two Indians with him who put him on a war trace, which they said led to American establishments; and as soon as the Indians left him he directed his course, as he supposed, for Saint Antonio. He then killed deer and made himself some clothes. He proceeded on and expended all his ammunition three days before he struck the Grand Road, nearly at the Rio Grande. He further added that he had discovered two mines, one of silver and the other of gold, the situation of which he particularly described, but that the general had taken the samples from him; that he would not attempt to pass himself on us for a physician, and hoped, as he only used simples and was careful to do no harm, we would not betray him. He further added that since his being in the country he had made (from

The Southwestern Expedition

information) maps of all the adjacent country, but that they had been taken from him.

I had early concluded that he was an agent of Burr's, and was revolving in my mind whether I should denounce him as such to the commandant, but felt reluctant [to do so] from an apprehension that he might be innocent, when one of my men came in and informed me that it was Trainer, who had killed Major Bashier in the wilderness between Natchez and Tennessee when he was his hireling. He shot him when taking a nap at noon through the head with his own pistols. The governor of the state and the major's friends offered a very considerable reward for his apprehension, which obliged him to quit the state, and with an Amazonian woman who handled arms and hunted like a savage he retreated to the source of the White River, but being routed from that retreat by Captain Maney [Many], of the United States army, and a party of Cherokees, he and his female companion bore west and she, proving to be pregnant, was left by him in the desert and (I was informed) arrived on the settlements of Red River, but by what means is to me unknown. The articles and money taken from him by the Osages were the property of the deceased major. I then reported the circumstance to Captain Barelo, who had him immediately confined until the will of Governor Cordero was known, who informed me when [I was] at Saint Antonio [that] he

Zebulon M. Pike

would have him sent to some place of perpetual confinement in the interior. Thus vengeance has overtaken the ingrate and murderer when he least expected it.

In the evening we went to see some performers on the slack rope, who were in no wise extraordinary in their performances except in language, which would almost bring a blush on the cheek of the most abandoned of the female sex in the United States.

2d June, Tuesday: In the day time [we] were endeavoring to regulate our watches by my compass, and in an instant that my back was turned some person stole it. I could by no means recover it, and I had strong suspicions that the theft was approved, as the instrument had occasioned great dissatisfaction.

This day the captain went out to dine with some monks who would have thought it profanation to have had us as their guests, notwithstanding the priest of the place had escorted us round the town and to all the missions, and we found him a very communicative, liberal, and intelligent man. We saw no resource for a dinner but in the inventive genius of a little Frenchman who had accompanied us from Chihuahua, where he had been officiating one year as cook to the general, of whom he gave us many interesting anecdotes, and in fact he was of infinite service to us. We supported him and he served us as cook, interpreter, etc. It was astonishing with what zeal he strove to

The Southwestern Expedition

acquire news and information for us, and as he had been four times through the provinces he had acquired considerable knowledge of the country, people, etc. He went off and in a very short time returned with tablecloth, plates, a dinner of three or four courses, [and] a bottle of wine, with a pretty girl to attend on the table. We inquired by what magic he had brought it about, and found he had been to one of the officers and notified [him] that it was the wish of the commandant that he should supply the two Americans with a decent dinner (this we explained to Barelo in the evening, and he laughed heartily) which was done, but we took care to compensate them for their trouble.

We parted from the captain with regret, and assurances of remembrance. Departed at five o'clock, escorted by Ensign _____ and _____ men, and came on to the Rio Grande, which we passed and encamped at a rancho on the other side. Distance seven miles.

3d June, Wednesday: The mosquitoes, which had commenced the first night on this side Montelovez, now had become very troublesome. This day saw the first horse-flies. Saw some wild horses. Came on in the open plain, and in a dry time, when there was no water. Distance thirty miles.

4th June, Thursday: Came sixteen miles to a pond and dined. Great sign of wild horses; in the afternoon to the river Noissour,¹

¹ The Nueces River.

Zebulon M. Pike

swimming [it] where we arrived, although not more than ten steps wide. Distance thirty-six miles.

5th June, Friday: After losing two horses in passing the river, the water having fallen so that we forded, [we] crossed and continued our route. Passed two herds of wild horses, who left the road for us. Halted at a pond on the left of the road, fifteen miles, where we saw the first oak since we entered New Mexico, and this was scrub oak. Passed many deer yesterday and today. Came on to a small creek at night, where we met a party of the company of Saint Fernandez returning from the line. Distance thirty-one miles.

6th June, Saturday: Marched early and met several parties of troops returning from Texas, where they had been sent to reinforce when our troops were near the line. Immense numbers of cross-roads made by the wild horses. Killed a wild hog, which on examination I found to be very different from the tame breed, smaller, brown, long hair, and short legs. They are to be found in all parts between Red River and the Spanish settlements.

Passed an encampment made by the *Lee Panes* [Lipans]. Met one of said nation with his wife. In the afternoon struck the woodland, which was the first we had been in from the time we left the Osage nation. Distance thirty-nine miles.

7th June, Sunday. Came on fifteen miles to

The Southwestern Expedition

the river Mariano,¹ the line between Texas and Cogquilla—a pretty little stream [on which was a] rancho. From thence in the afternoon to Saint Antonio. We halted at the mission of Saint Joseph; received in a friendly manner by the priest of the mission and others.

We were met out of Saint Antonio about three miles by Governors Cordero and Herrera, in a coach. We repaired to their quarters, where we were received like their children. Cordero informed me that he had discretionary orders as to the mode of my going out of the country; that he therefore wished me to choose my time, mode, etc., and that any sum of money I might want was at my service; that in the meantime Robinson and myself would make his quarters our home; and that he had caused to be vacated and prepared a house immediately opposite for the reception of my men. In the evening his levee was attended by a crowd of officers and priests, at which were Father M'Guire and Dr. Zerbin. After supper we went to the public square, where might be seen the two governors joined in a dance with people who in the daytime would approach them with reverence and awe.

We were here introduced to the sister of Lieutenant Malgares' wife, who was one of the finest women we saw. She was married to a Captain Ugarte, to whom we had letters of introduction.

¹ The Medina River. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

8th June, Monday: Remained at Saint Antonio.

9th June, Tuesday: A large party dined at Governor Cordero's, who gave as his first toast, "The President of the United States—Vive la." I returned the compliment by toasting "His Catholic Majesty." These toasts were followed by "General Wilkinson," and one of the company then gave, "Those gentlemen; their safe and happy arrival in their own country, their honorable reception, and the continuation of the good understanding which exists between the two countries."

10th June, Wednesday: A large party at the governor's to dinner. He gave as a toast, "My companion, Herrera."

11th June, Thursday: Preparing to march tomorrow. We this evening had a conversation with the two governors, wherein they exhibited an astonishing knowledge of the political character of our [Chief] Executive, and the local interests of the different parts of the Union.

12th June, Friday: One of the captains from the kingdom of Leon having died, we were invited to attend the burial, and accompanied the two governors in their coach, where we had an opportunity of viewing the solemnity of the interment, agreeably to the ritual of the Spanish church, attended by the military honors which were conferred on the deceased by his late brethren in arms. Governor Cordero gave the information of my intended expedi-

The Southwestern Expedition

tion to the commandant-general as early as July, the same month I took my departure. His information was received via Natchez.

13th June, Saturday: This morning there were marched 200 dragoons for the sea-coast to look out for the English, and this evening Colonel Cordero was to have marched to join them. We marched at seven o'clock, Governor Cordero taking us out in his coach about two leagues, accompanied by Father M'Guire, Dr. Zerbin, etc.

It may not be improper to mention here something of Father M'Guire and Dr. Zerbin, who certainly treated us with all imaginable attention while [we were] at Saint Antonio. The former was an Irish priest who formerly resided on the coast above [New] Orleans, and was noted for his hospitable and social qualities. On the cession of Louisiana he followed the standard of the king, his master, who never suffers an old servant to be neglected. He received at Cuba an establishment as chaplain to the mint of Mexico, whence the instability of human affairs carried him to Saint Antonio. He was a man of chaste, classical taste, observation, and research.

Dr. Zerbin formerly resided at Natchez, but in consequence of pecuniary embarrassments emigrated to the Spanish territories. Being a young man of handsome person and insinuating address, he had obtained the goodwill of Governor Cordero, who had conferred

Zebulon M. Pike

on him an appointment in the king's hospital and many other advantages by which he might have made a fortune. He had recently committed some very great indiscretions, by which he had nearly lost the favor of Colonel Cordero, but whilst we were there he was treated with attention.

I will here attempt to portray a faint resemblance of the characters of the two governors whom we found at Saint Antonio; but [to] whose super-excellent qualities it would require the pen of a master to do justice.

Don Antonio Cordero is about five feet ten inches in height, fifty years of age, fair complexion, and blue eyes. He wore his hair turned back, and in every part of his deportment was legibly written "the soldier." He yet possessed an excellent constitution and a body which appeared to be neither impaired by the fatigues of the various campaigns he had made nor disfigured by the numerous wounds received from the enemies of his king. He was one of the select officers who had been chosen by the court of Madrid to be sent to America about thirty-five years since to discipline and organize the Spanish provincials, and had been employed in all the various kingdoms and provinces of New Spain. Through the parts which we explored he was universally beloved and respected; and when I pronounce him by far the most popular man in the internal provinces I risk nothing by the assertion. He spoke the

The Southwestern Expedition

Latin and French languages well, [and] was generous, gallant, brave, and sincerely attached to his king and country. Those numerous qualifications have advanced him to the rank of colonel of cavalry and governor of [the provinces of] Cogquilla and Texas. His usual residence was Montelovez, which he had embellished a great deal, but since [our] taking possession of Louisana he had removed to Saint Antonio in order to be nearer the frontier, to be able to apply the remedy to any evil which might arise from the collision of our lines.

Don Simon de Herrera is about five feet eleven inches high, has a sparkling black eye, dark complexion and hair. He was born in the Canary Islands, served in the infantry in France, Spain, and Flanders, and speaks the French language well, and a little of the English. He is engaging in his conversation with his equals, polite and obliging to his inferiors, and in all his actions one of the most gallant and accomplished men I ever knew.

He possesses a great knowledge of mankind from his experience in various countries and societies, and knows how to employ the genius of each of his subordinates to advantage. He had been in the United States during the presidency of General Washington, and had been introduced to that hero, of whom he spoke in terms of exalted veneration. He is now lieutenant-colonel of infantry, and governor of the

Zebulon M. Pike

kingdom of New Leon. His seat of government is Mont Elrey [Monterey]; and probably, if ever a chief was adored by his people, it is Herrera. When his time expired last, he immediately repaired to Mexico, attended by 300 of the most respectable people of his government, who carried with them the sighs, tears, and prayers of thousands that he might be continued in that government. The viceroy thought proper to accord to their wishes *pro tempore*, and the king has since confirmed his nomination.

When I saw him he had been about one year absent, during which time the citizens of rank in Mont Elrey had not suffered a marriage or baptism to take place in any of their families, until their common father could be there to consent and give joy to the occasion by his presence. What greater proof could be given of their esteem and love?

In drawing a parallel between the two friends, I should say that Cordero was the man of greatest reading, and that Herrera possessed the greatest knowledge of the world. Cordero has lived all his life a bachelor. Herrera married an English lady in early youth, at Cadiz, who by her suavity of manners makes herself as much beloved and esteemed by the ladies as her noble husband does by the men. By her he has several children, one now an officer in the service of his royal master.

The two friends agree perfectly in one point,

The Southwestern Expedition

their hatred to tyranny of every kind; and in a secret determination never to see that flourishing part of the New World subject to any other European lord, except him whom they think their honor and loyalty bound to defend with their lives and fortunes. But should Bonaparte seize on European Spain, I risk nothing in asserting [that] those two gentlemen would be the first to throw off the yoke, draw their swords, and assert the independence of their country.

Before I close this subject it may not be improper to state that we owe [it] to Governor Herrera's prudence that we are not now engaged in a war with Spain. This will be explained by the following anecdote, which he related in the presence of his friend Cordero, and which was confirmed by him. When the difficulties commenced on the Sabine¹ the commandant-general and the viceroy consulted each other, and they mutually determined to maintain what they deemed the dominions of their master inviolate. The viceroy therefore ordered Herrera to join Cordero with 1,300 men, and both the viceroy and General Salcedo ordered Cordero to cause our troops to be attacked, should they pass the Rio Oude. Those orders were positively reiterated to Herrera, the actual commanding officer of the Spanish army on the frontiers, and gave rise

¹ The Sabine River is on the boundary between Louisiana and Texas.

Zebulon M. Pike

to the many messages which he sent to General Wilkinson when he was advancing with our troops; but finding they were not attended to, he called a council of war on the question to attack or not, when it was given as their opinion, that they should immediately commence a predatory warfare, but avoid a general engagement; yet, notwithstanding the orders of the viceroy, the commandant-general, Governor Cordero's and the opinion of his officers, he had the firmness (or temerity) to enter into the agreement with General Wilkinson which at present exists relative to our boundaries on that frontier. On his return he was received with coolness by Cordero, and they both made their communication to their superiors. "Until an answer was received," said Herrera, "I experienced the most unhappy period of my life, conscious I had served my country faithfully, at the same time I had violated every principle of military duty." At length the answer arrived, and what was it, but the thanks of the viceroy and the commandant-general for having pointedly disobeyed their orders, with assurances that they would represent his services in exalted terms to the king. What could have produced this change of sentiment is to me unknown, but the letter was published to the army, and confidence again restored between the two chiefs and the troops.

Our company consisted of Lieutenant Jn.

The Southwestern Expedition

Echararria, who commanded the escort, Captain Eugene Marchon, of New Orleans, and Father José Angel Cabaso, who was bound to the camp at or near the Trinity, with a suitable proportion of soldiers. We came on sixteen miles to a place called the Beson, where we halted until the mules came up. Marched again at four o'clock, and arrived at the river of Guadalupe¹ at eight o'clock at night. Distance thirty miles.

14th June, Sunday: When we left Saint Antonio everything appeared to be in a flourishing and improving state, owing to the examples and encouragement given to industry, politeness, and civilization by their excellent governor, Cordero, and his colleague, Herrera; also the large body of troops maintained at that place in consequence of the difference existing between the United States and Spain.

Came on to the Saint Mark in the morning. In the afternoon came on fifteen miles farther, but was late, owing to our having taken the wrong road. Distance thirty miles.

15th June, Monday: Marched twenty miles in the morning to a small pond, which is dry in a dry season, where we halted. Here commenced the oak timber, it having been mesquit in general from Saint Antonio. Prairie like the Indiana Territory. In the afternoon came on six miles farther to a creek, where we encamped early. Distance twenty-six miles.

¹ In the vicinity of the town of New Braunfels. Coues.

Zebulon M. Pike

16th June, Tuesday: Marched early, and at eight o'clock arrived at Red River. Here was a small Spanish station and several lodges of Tancards [Tonkawa], tall, handsome men, but the most naked savages I ever yet saw without exception. They complained much of their situation. In the afternoon passed over hilly, stony land; occasionally saw pine timber. Encamped on a small run. Distance twenty-six miles. Killed one deer.

17th June, Wednesday: Came on by nine o'clock to a large encampment of Tancards, more than forty lodges. Their poverty was as remarkable as their independence. Immense herds of horses, etc. I gave a Camanche and [a] Tancard each a silk handkerchief, and a recommendation to the commandant at Natchitoches. In the afternoon came on three hours and encamped on a hill at a creek on the right hand side of the road. Met a large herd of mules escorted by four soldiers; the lieutenant took some money from them which they had in charge. Distance thirty miles.

18th June, Thursday: Rode on until half past ten o'clock, when we arrived at the river Brassos [Brazos]. Here is a stockade guard of one corporal, six men, and a ferry boat. Swam our horses over. One was drowned and several others near it, owing to their striking each other with their feet. We then came on about two miles on this side of a bayou called the Little Brassos, which is only a branch of

The Southwestern Expedition

the other, and which makes an impassable swamp at certain seasons between them. Distance thirty-one miles.

19th June, Friday: Came on through prairies and woods alternately twenty miles to a small creek [called] Corpus Christi; well wooded, rich land. In the afternoon came on ten miles and passed a creek which in high water is nearly impassable [for] four miles. Overflows [in] swamps, ponds, etc. Encamped about one mile on this side on high land to the right of the road. Met the mail, Indians, and others. Distance thirty miles.

20th June, Saturday: Came on 16 miles in the morning—passed several herds of mustangs or wild horses; good land, ponds and small dry creeks, prairie, and woods alternately. It rained considerably. We halted to dry our baggage long before night. Distance twenty miles.

21st June, Sunday: Came on to the river Trinity by eight o'clock. Here were stationed two captains, two lieutenants, and three ensigns with nearly 100 men, all sick, one scarcely able to assist the other. Met a number of runaway negroes, some French and Irishmen. Received information of Lieutenant Wilkinson's safe arrival. Crossed with all our horses and baggage with much difficulty. Distance twenty miles.

22d June, Monday: Marched the mules and horses in the forenoon, but did not depart

Zebulon M. Pike

ourselves until three o'clock P.M. Father José Angel Cabaso separated from us at this place for the post of ———, where he was destined. Passed thick woods and a few small prairies with high rich grass. Sent a dispatch to Nacogdoches. Distance twenty-two miles.

23d June, Tuesday: Came on twenty miles in the forenoon to a small creek of standing water; good land and well timbered. Met a sergeant from Nacogdoches. In the afternoon made twenty miles and crossed the river Natchez [Netches], running N. W. & S. E., twenty yards wide; belly deep to horses at that time, but sometimes impassable. Two miles on this side encamped on a hill in a little prairie; mules and loads arrived at twelve o'clock. The sandy soil and pine timber began again this afternoon, but good land near the river. Distance forty miles.

24th June, Wednesday: The horses came up this morning; lost six over night. We marched early and in fifteen miles came to the river Angeline, about the width of the Natchez, running N. & S. Good land on its borders. Two miles farther was a settlement of Barr and Davenport's, where were three of our lost horses. One mile farther found two more of our horses, where we halted for dinner. Marched at four o'clock, and at half past eight arrived at Nacogdoches. Were politely received by the adjutant and inspector, and Captain Herrera, Davenport, etc. This part

The Southwestern Expedition

of the country is well watered, but sandy; hilly soil, pine, scrub oak, etc. Distance thirty-seven miles.

25th June, Thursday: Spent in reading a gazette from the United States, etc. A large party at the adjutant and inspector's to dinner. First toast, "The President of the United States." Second, "The King of Spain." Third, "Governors Herrera and Cordero."

26th June, Friday: Made preparations to march the next day. Saw an old acquaintance, also Lorrimer's¹ son-in-law from the district of Cape Jerardeay [Girardeau]. Dined with the commandant and spent the evening [at] Davenport's.

27th June, Saturday: Marched after dinner and came only twelve miles. Was escorted by

¹ Louis Lorimer was a notable figure in the West for almost half a century ending with his death in 1812. He was born in Canada, and about the year 1769 he came with his father to the region of western Ohio, where he engaged in the Indian trade and acquired a commanding influence over the Shawnee and Delaware tribes. During the Revolution his trading house was a notable center of British-Indian activity. Among other exploits, Lorimer in 1778 led a war-party into Kentucky which captured Daniel Boone. In 1782 an army of Kentuckians led by George Rogers Clark destroyed Lorimer's Station and he retired to the Glaze River. A few years later he became financially involved and absconded to Spanish Louisiana. There he entered upon a career of renewed prosperity, acquired much influence with the Spanish authorities, and served for many years as commandant of Cape Girardeau District.

Zebulon M. Pike

Lieutenant Guodiana and a military party. Mr. Davenport's brother-in-law, who was taking in some money, also accompanied us.

Don Francis Viana, adjutant and inspector of the internal provinces, who commanded at Nacogdoches, is an old and veteran officer, and was one of those who came to America at the same time with Colonel Cordero, but possessing a mind of frankness he unfortunately spoke his opinions too freely in some instances, which, finding their way to court, prevented his promotion. But he is highly respected by his superiors, and looked up to as a model of military conduct by his inferiors. He unfortunately does not possess flexibility sufficient to be useful in the present state of the Spanish kingdoms. He is the officer who caused Major Sparks and Mr. Freeman to return from their expedition on the Red River.

28th June, Sunday: Marched early, and at nine o'clock crossed the little river called _____, from whence we pushed on in order to arrive at the house of _____, a Frenchman, _____ miles distant from the Sabine. We stopped at a house on the road, where the lieutenant informed me an American by the name of Johnson lived, but was surprised to find he had crossed the line with his family, and a French family in his place. When we began conversing with them they were much alarmed, thinking we had come to examine them, and [they] expressed great attachment

The Southwestern Expedition

to the Spanish government, but [they were] somewhat astonished to find I was an American officer, and on my companions stepping out [they] expressed themselves in strong terms of hatred to the Spanish nation. I excused them for their weakness, and gave them a caution. Fine land, well watered and timbered, hickory, oak, sugar-tree, etc. Distance forty miles.

29th June, Monday: Our baggage and horses came up about ten o'clock, when we dispatched them on. Marched ourselves at two o'clock, and arrived at the river Sabine by five. Here we saw the cantonment of the Spanish troops, when commanded by Colonel Herrera on the late affair between the two governments. Crossed the Sabine River¹ and came about one league on this side to a little prairie, where we encamped. Parted with Lieutenant Guodiana and our Spanish escort. And here I think proper to bear testimony to the politeness, civility, and attention of all the officers who at different periods and in different provinces commanded my escort (but in a particular manner to Malgares and Barelo, who appeared studious to please and accommodate, all that lay in their power), also the obliging, mild dispositions evinced in all instances by their rank and file. On this side of the Sabine I went up to a house where I found ten or fifteen Americans hovering near the line in

¹ Then the boundary between the possessions of Spain and of the United States in this region.

Zebulon M. Pike

order to embrace an opportunity of carrying on some illicit commerce with the Spaniards, who on their side were equally eager. Here we found Tharp and Sea, who had been old sergeants in General Wayne's army. Distance fifteen miles.

30th June, Tuesday: Marched early and came on to a house at a small creek fifteen miles, where lived a Dutch family named Faulk, where we left a small roan horse which had given out. Marched twelve miles farther to a large bayou, where had been an encampment of our troops, which I recognized by its form, and [I] took pleasure in imagining the position of the general's marquee and the tents of my different friends and acquaintances. Distance twenty-eight miles.

1st July, Wednesday: Finding that a horse of Doctor Robinson's, which had come all the way from Chihuahua, could not proceed, [I] was obliged to leave him here. Yesterday and today passed many Choctaws, whose clothing, furniture, etc., evidently marked the superiority of situation of those who bordered on our frontiers to those of the naked, half-starved wretches whom we found hanging round the Spanish settlements. Came on, and passed a string of huts supposed to be built by our troops, and at a small run a fortified camp but a half mile from the hill, where anciently stood the village Adyes.

We proceeded on to a spring, where we

The Southwestern Expedition

halted for our loads, and finding the horses much fatigued and not able to proceed, left them and baggage and proceeded on, when we arrived at Natchitoches about four o'clock P. M.

Language cannot express the gaiety of my heart when I once more beheld the standard of my country waved aloft! "All hail," cried I, "the ever sacred name of country, in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie which is dear to the soul of man!!" Was affectionately received by Colonel Freeman, Captains Strong and Wollstonecraft, Lieutenant Smith, and all the officers of the post.

Index

Index

- ADAMS, Lieut.———, commandant of Monclova, meets Pike, 198; career sketched, 199.
- Albuquerque, expedition reaches, 150-52.
- Allencaster, Governor———, Pike tenders information to, 116; sends party to meet Pike, 121; invitation to, 122-23; interview with Pike, 137-44; confiscates papers, 140-41.
- Angeline, expedition passes, 220.
- Apache Indians, warfare with Spaniards, 163, 193-94; of Fort Elisiaira, independence, 167.
- Aqua Caliente (L'eau Chaud, Warm Spring), expedition visits, 129; described, 129-30; Dr. Robinson at, 155.
- Aqua Caliente Creek, expedition descends, 130.
- Arkansas River, expedition reaches, 57, 59; described, 59-60; expedition crosses, 60; camps at Pawnee Fork, 61; navigability, 71-73; mistaken for Red River, 88. See also Neosho River.
- BARELO, Captain———, assumes charge of Americans, 188; punctuality of, 189; duplicity, 192; confines murderer, 205; Pike bids farewell, 207; courtesy acknowledged, 223.
- Baroney (A. F. Vasquez), career sketched, 7; pursues horse, 39; visits Pawnee village, 49, 52-53; left in charge of baggage, 100.
- Barr,———, expedition reaches settlement of, 220.
- Bartholemew,———, entertains Pike, 138, 142; companion of, 145; farewell to, 146.
- Bashier, Major———, murder of, 202-206.
- Belle Oiseau, Indian chief, killed, 23; son of, accompanies Pike, 36; leaves expedition, 56.
- Big Manitou River, Indians on, 4.

Index

- Big Osage Indians, see Osage Indians and Little Osage Indians.
- Big Soldier, anger of, 11-12.
- Black Mountains, expedition passes, 162.
- Blanchette, Louis, founder of St. Charles, 4.
- Boone, Daniel, resident of Charette, 6; captured, 221.
- Brazos (Brassos) River, expedition crosses, 218.
- Brelaw, name for badger, 63.
- Brown, Clarissa, marries Zebulon M. Pike, xx.
- Brown,——, on journey to Pike's Peak, 76-79; seditious conduct, 106; rebuked, 107-108.
- Browne, Dr. Joseph, career sketched, 27.
- Buffalo, numbers, 67-68; quality of meat, 68.
- Burling,——, mission of, to Mexico, 178.
- Burr, Aaron, relations with Gen. Wilkinson, xiii, xv-xvi; brother-in-law of Joseph Browne, 27; news of conspiracy received, 169.
- CABASO, Father José Angel, traveling companion of Pike, 217; leaves expedition, 220.
- Caberarie, Don Antonio, entertains Lieut. Pike, 175, 177, 178.
- Caberarie, Señora Maria, entertains Americans, 175.
- Cabrie, name for antelope, 37.
- Canals, near Albuquerque, 152.
- Characterish, Pawnee chief, hospitalities between, and Pike, 46.
- Carrizal (Carracal), expedition reaches, 168.
- Caso Calvo, Marquis of, dispute with provincial governor, 144.
- Charette, history sketched, 5-6; Pike reaches, 7-8.
- Chartran (Chartrand, Chartron), Joseph, syndic of Charette, 8.
- Cheveux Blanche (White Hair), Pike sends letter to, 22; holds council with, 26-27; spends night with, 32; reprimands Tutasuggy, 28-29; supplies horses, 30; son deserts expedition, 36.
- Cheyenne Mountain, Pike ascends, 78.
- Chihuahua, Pike ordered to proceed to, 141; reaches, 170; leaves, 185.
- Choctaw Indians, expedition encounters, 224.

Index

- Chouteau, C., Pike meets, 32.
Chouteau, Pierre, establishes Fort Carondelet, 24.
Christmas, celebration of, 90-92.
Claiborne, Wm. C. C., career sketched, 176.
Clark, George Rogers, destroys Lorimier's station, 221.
Clark, Capt. William, news of return of, 51.
Colly, Solomon, as interpreter, 139; farewell to Pike, 144.
Comanche Indians, friendly relations with established, xiv.
Conchos River, Pike passes, 187.
Cordero, Governor Antonio, confines murderer, 205-206; meets Pike, 209; entertains, 210; characterized, 212-16.
Corpus Christi, expedition passes, 219.
Coues, Elliott, edits Pike's narrative, xxi.
D'ALMANSA, Capt. Anthony, accompanies Pike to Chihuahua, 141; views on public affairs, 145; farewell to Americans, 160; fight with Apache Indians, 163.
Davenport,——, expedition reaches settlement of, 220.
DeCroix, Monsieur——, lays out route, 193.
Dog, Lieut. Pike's, lost, 13; last one, killed, 60.
Door of the Prison River, Pike reaches, 190.
Dougherty, Thomas, feet frozen, 104; left in mountains, 104-105; fears abandonment, 117-18.
Dunbar,——, explores Washita region, 144.
ECHARARRIA, Lieut. Juan, escorts Americans, 216-17.
Ellicott, Andrew, surveys Florida boundary, 171; career sketched, 172.
Encina, Pike reaches hacienda of, 200.
FANDANGO, danced by Mexicans, 129; Americans entertained by, 160; Pike attends, 178.
Faulk,——, Dutch settler's family, 224.
Ferara, Captain de, Pike visits, 198.
Fernandez, Don Bartholemew, Pike meets, 121.
Fero, David, career sketched, 176; appeal to Pike, 176-77; gift to, 182.
Fisher, Henry M., career sketched, 13.
Flag, Pawnee exchange Spanish for U. S., 47-48.

Index

- Florida, Pike reaches, 196-97.
Fort Belle Fontaine, history sketched, 3.
Fort Carondelet, established, 24.
Fort Elisiaira, expedition passes, 166-68.
Frank, Pawnee Indian, elopes with wife of Osage chief, 49.
Freeman,——, exploration of, 222; welcomes Pike, 225.
French, traders on Osage River, 10; at Pawnee village, 51; camp of, 23; settlement on Osage River, 23-24.
Friar Christopher, mountain, expedition passes, 164-65.
GARCIA, Don Francisco, entertains Americans, 166.
Gasconade River, expedition passes, 8-10.
Grand Osage Indians, send war party against Americans, 21. See also Osage and Little Osage Indians.
Grand River, expedition passes, 20.
Grape Creek, expedition reaches, 101.
Gravel River, expedition passes, 16.
Great Britain, treaty with United States, 178.
Griffith,——, American deserter, encounter with Pike, 200-201.
Guadalupe River, expedition passes, 217.
Guajuquilla (Guaxequillo), Pike reaches, 188.
Guerra, Father Ambrosio, entertains Pike, 150-52.
Guloo, Don Hyman, movements of, 188, 196; Pike bids farewell, 199.
Guodiana, Lieutenant ——, escort to Pike, 222; farewell to, 223.
HARRISON, Symmes, son-in-law of Pike, xx.
Henry, George, joins Pike's expedition, 4, 6; lost, 15.
Herrara, Captain ——, hospitality to Americans, 220-21.
Herrara, Governor Simon de, meets Pike, 209; characterized, 213-16; prevents war with U. S., 215; camp of, 223.
Horse Mountain, expedition passes, 164.
Horses, lost, 33; Pike procures, 30, 51; stolen, 31; as presents, 45-46; magpies attack, 80; exhausted, 94-95; wild, expedition encounters, 63, 65-66; exhausted, 72; Spanish soldiers pursue, 128; expedition encounters, 207-208, 219.

Index

- INDIANS, mourning cries, 9-10; necessity of firmness with, 19-20; affection of, 21; steal horses, 32; desert expedition, 34; encounter with, 73-76; Spaniards humble, 167. See also the several Indian tribes.
- Iskatappe, Pawnee chief, overtakes expedition, 53.
- JACKSON, Corporal ———, sent on detached service, 114.
- Jefferson, Thomas, interest in western exploration, xii-xiii.
- Jefferson Barracks, successor of Fort Belle Fontaine, 3.
- Johnson, ———, American settler in Mexico, 222-23.
- Jornada del Muerto, expedition traverses, 164-65.
- KANSAS Indians, visit Pike at Pawnee village, 46; council with, 47.
- Kansas River, expedition reaches tributary, 39; leaves waters of, 57.
- Kaskaskia, Pike commands, 133-34.
- Keres Indians, expedition encounters, 147.
- Kinnerman, Henry, deserts, 8.
- LABELLE Roche, expedition camps near, 16.
- LaCharette, see Charette.
- Lalande, Baptiste, as spy, 131-33; story of, 133; claim of Dr. Robinson against, 156.
- Larme, Baptiste, fur trade employee, 27.
- L'eau Chaud, see Aqua Caliente.
- Lewis, Capt. Meriwether, news of return of, 51.
- Lipan (Lee Panes) Indians, Pike passes settlement, 208.
- Little Osage Indians, anger of chief, 12 desert expedition, 13; war with Kansas, 21. See also Osage Indians.
- Little Osage River, expedition ascends, 24; reaches forts, 35.
- Liza, Manuel de, career sketched, 5; trading establishment reached, 25; trading activities, 27.
- Lorimier, Louis, career sketched, 221.
- Lorimier's Station, destroyed, 221.
- Louisiana Territory, creation of, 27.
- MCGUIRE, Father ———, attends reception, 209; career sketched, 211.

Index

- Magdalen Mountains, expedition passes, 162.
Magpies, attack horses, 80.
Malgares, Lieut. Don Faciendo, characterized, 157, 159; reception of Lieut. Pike, 159; mode of life, 161; illness, 162; fights with Apaches, 163; popularity, 167; fear of superiors, 170; wife, 174; escorts Pike from Chihuahua, 185; leaves Pike, 188-89; sister-in-law, 209; courtesy acknowledged, 223.
Many (Maney), Captain James B., pursues murderer, 205.
Mapimi (Maupeme), Pike reaches, 191.
Marchon, Capt. Eugene, member of Pike's escort, 217.
Mast, of Pike's boat, abandoned, 15.
Mayner, Lieut.-Col. Alberto, father-in-law of Lieut. Malgares, 174; entertains Pike, 175, 177, 179.
Medicine, state of science, in New Spain, 174.
Meek, Sergeant Wm. E., sent on detached service, 118-19.
Melcher, Don ———, Pike reaches hacienda of, 199; thirst for information, 199-201.
Menaugh, ———, left to guard stores, 109; rejoins Pike, 117.
Mexico City, road to, 192-93.
Millada River, see Sabinas River.
Miller, ———, lost, 12; in journey to Pike's Peak, 76-79.
Mine River, expedition camps at, 23.
Mississippi River, Pike's exploration of, xiv.
Monclova (Montelovez), as objective of Pike, 190; residence of Governor Cordero, 213.
Morrison, James, early settler of St. Charles, 4.
Morrison, William, career sketched, 133.
Mountain of the Dead, expedition passes, 164.
NATCHITOCHES, objective of Pike, 116; expedition reaches, 225.
Neosho (White, Arkansas) River, expedition reaches headwaters, 35; forks, 36, 38; leaves, 37.
Netches (Natchez) River, expedition crosses, 220.
Niangua (Youngar) River, expedition passes, 17.
Nolan, Philip, story of, 139; gun, 176.
Noonan Mountain, Pike ascends, 97.

Index

- Ogo Mall a Ukap, spring, 168.
Oil Creek, expedition reaches, 84.
Ojo Caliente, see Aqua Caliente.
Old Man's Rapids, expedition passes, 17.
Osage Indians, captives restored, xiv, 3; reunion, 22; expedition visits villages, 24-32; council with, 28; jealousy of chiefs, 28-29; medicine dance, 31; accompany expedition, 32, 52; plan to desert, 41-42; reception at Pawnee village, 45; council with Kansas, 47; plunder Trainer, 203-204. See also Little Osage Indians.
Osage River, French traders on, 10; expedition reaches, 11; passes Forks, 23.
PARRAS, expedition reaches, 195.
Passo del Norte, expedition passes, 166.
Pattos, Pike reaches, 196; described, 197.
Pawnee Indians, peace with Osage, xiv; captives restored, 3; accompany expedition, 32; chief meets, 43; village visited, 44-52; reception of Osage, 45; hospitalities exchanged, 46; council with, 47-48; hostility to Pike's advance, 49-52; dispute over theft, 53-54; as hunters, 54; war party encountered, 73-76.
Pelaya (Pelía), expedition reaches, 190.
Pike, Zebulon M., explorations of, xiii-xviii; career sketched, xviii-xx; editions of narrative, xx-xxii; adventure with rattlesnake, 16, 62; wins shooting match, 18; illness, 19, 134; enforces discipline, 19-20, 106-108; astronomical observations, 29-31, 47, 62, 77, 89, 100; gives presents to Osage Indians, 31; holds council with Indians, 47-48; defies chief, 49-52; waylays Indians, 76; attempts to visit Pike's Peak, 76-79; calculates height of, 81-82; builds fortified camp, 77, 111; ascends Cheyenne Mountain, 78; in Royal Gorge, 82, 96; seeks Red River, 89-91, 99, 109-10; geographical discoveries, 97; receives Spanish soldiers, 121-22; visits Sante Fe, 136-44; papers confiscated, 140-41, 172, 179; ordered to Chihuahua, 141; scanty equipment of party, 143; rescues young woman, 163-64; inter-

Index

- view with Governor Salcedo, 171-73, 181-82; defies, 179-81; leaves Chihuahua, 185; subterfuge concerning notes, 186-88; farewell to Lieut. Malgares, 188-89; gives ball, 191, 194; encounters American deserter, 188-89; compass stolen, 206.
- Pike's Peak, objective of Pike, 76-79; height calculated, 81-82.
- Pine Creek, mast procured, 15.
- Platte River, supposed discovery of source, 97.
- Pojoaque, expedition visits, 136.
- Potawatomi Indians, surrender captives, 3; war route of, 9; wage war against Osage Indians, 30.
- Pottoe River, expedition passes, 17.
- Prado, Father Joseph, reception of Lieut. Pike, 166.
- Pratt,——, American deserter, 199.
- Presidio Rio Grande, Captain Barelo stationed at, 202.
- Priests, hospitality to Pike, 131, 134; scientific interests, 134-35; conduct of, at Santa Cruz, 135-36.
- Purgatory River, expedition passes, 71.
- RAMSAY,——, report concerning Indians, 4.
- Rattlesnakes, Pike's adventure with, 16, 62.
- Red River, headwaters sought, 87; supposed discovery, 88-91, 109-10; Spaniards offer to escort Pike to, 122; expedition reaches, 218.
- Republican River, expedition reaches tributary, 42-43.
- Rey, Don Pedro Roderique, reception of Lieut. Pike, 166.
- Rio Chama River, expedition reaches, 131.
- Rio Conejos River, Pike builds fortified camp on, 111; ascends, 127.
- Rio Florido River, Pike ascends, 187.
- Rio Grande River, valley reached, 109-10; identity of, learned, 122; expedition crosses, 153, 207; bridge described, 148.
- Rio Nasas (Brasses) River, Pike reaches, 193.
- Robinson, Dr. John Hamilton, career sketched, 5; visits Pawnee village, 38, 41, 43; dirk stolen, 53-54; on Pike's Peak excursion, 76-79; illness, 98; departure for Santa Fe, 112; characterized, 113; reaches Santa Fe, 116; Governor Allencaster

Index

- notices, 137-38; reunion with Pike, 153; narrative of adventures, 154-58; paroled, 160-61; interview with Governor Salcedo, 173.
- Rocky Mountains, expedition gains first sight of, 70; as boundary, 71.
- Rodriguez, Capt. ———, arrest of, 177.
- Royal Gorge, Pike visits, 82, 96.
- Rubi, Father, entertains Pike, 148-50.
- SABINAS (Millada) River, Pike reaches, 201.
- Sabine River, expedition crosses, 202, 223; dispute with Spain over boundary, 215-16.
- Sabinez, expedition passes, 162.
- Saint Antonio, road to, 192-93; expedition reaches, 209.
- Saint Antonio, Rancho de, Pike reaches, 193-94.
- St. Charles, boundary of, 4.
- St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, defeat of, 67.
- St. Domingo, expedition reaches, 146-47.
- St. Fernandez, Dr. Robinson reaches, 157.
- St. John's, expedition visits, 131-34; described, 135.
- Saint Joseph, mission, visited, 209.
- St. Lorenzo, hacienda of, Pike reaches, 195.
- Saint Mark, expedition reaches, 217.
- St. Paul, expedition reaches, 186.
- St. Thomas, expedition passes, 161.
- Salcedo, General ———, informed of approach of Americans, 170; interview with Pike, 171-73, 181-82; orders of, concerning Pike, 183, 186, 190-91; ignored, 196; asks Pike to examine immigrant, 202.
- Saline River, expedition passes, 16, 40.
- Saltelo, Don Ignatio, Pike meets, 121.
- Sandia (Zandia, St. Dies), expedition reaches, 150.
- San Felipe, expedition visits, 148.
- Sangre de Cristo (White) Mountains, expedition sights, 101; crosses, 109.
- San Miguel, Marquis de, estate of, 193, 196-98.
- Sans Oreille, anger of Big Soldier at, 11-12; reports movements of Sparks, 18; speech, 22; accompanies expedition, 32; deserts, 34.
- Santa Cruz, expedition visits, 135.

Index

- Santa Fe, Pike visits, 122-24, 136-44; described, 136-37.
Saugrain, Dr. Antoine, Dr. Robinson marries sister-in-law, 5.
Sea,——, retired soldier, 224.
Shepherd River, expedition passes, 8.
Shooting match, Pike's men hold, 18, 60.
Sibilleta, expedition passes, 162; rendezvous of trading caravan, 163.
Smith, Lieut.——, welcomes Pike, 225.
Smith, Patrick, guards baggage, 100.
Smoky Hill River, expedition reaches, 39, 57.
Smuggling, across border, 222-23.
Solomon River, expedition camps on, 54.
South Arkansas River, expedition reaches, 92.
South Platte River, expedition reaches headwaters, 85.
Spain, relations with United States, sketched, xi-xii; cedes Louisiana, xii.
Spaniards, expedition of, to Pawnee village, 43-47; route followed, 53, 56, 58, 61, 63, 64, 68, 70, 71, 73, 80, 82-85; number calculated, 53, 68; Pike meets, 115-17, 120-21; object of expedition to Pawnee, 128; hospitality to Americans, 130-31, 146, 148-52, 158, 160, 166, 175, 209-10, 221; funeral of officer, 210.
Sparks, John, as hunter, 17-18, 20; left at Pawnee village, 52-53; illness, 57; feet frozen, 104; left in mountains, 104-105; fears abandonment, 117-18.
Sparks, Major ——, leads exploring expedition, 222.
Strong, Capt.——, welcomes Pike, 225.
TESEQUE, expedition visits, 136.
Tatau Indians, wars with Pawnee, 43, 74; with Spaniards, 130; camps of, 69, 80; capture white children, 151.
Thorp,——, retired soldier, 224.
Tonkawa (Tancard) Indians, expedition reaches settlement of, 218.
Toronto, capture of, xix-xx.
Tousac, expedition reaches, 158.
Trainer,——, murderer, story of, 202-206.
Trinity River, expedition crosses, 219.

Index

- Turkey Island, expedition passes, 21.
Tutasuggy (the Wind), Chief of Little Osage, 12; reprimanded, 28-29; Pike visits, 30.
UGARTE, Captain ———, marries Lieut. Malgares' sister-in-law, 209.
United States, relations with Spain, sketched, xi-xii; treaty with Great Britain, 178.
Upper Gravel River, expedition passes, 17.
VALLOIS, Don Pedro, entertains Pike, 177, 179.
Vallois, Señora Marguerite, entertains Americans, 175.
Vasquez, A. F., *dit* Baronet, see Baroney.
Verdigris (Verdegris) River, expedition reaches headwaters, 37.
Vermillion River, expedition passes, 20.
Viana, Don Francis, Spanish official, characterized, 222.
Villamil, Don Bernardo, Pike meets, 174; entertained by, 177, 178, 179.
WALKER, Lieut. ———, agent of Spanish government, 171; houses Lieut. Pike, 173; suspected as informer, 181, 185; conduct of, 183-85.
Warm Springs, expedition passes, 169. See also Aqua Caliente.
Washita (Ouchata) region, explored, 144.
White Hair, see Cheveux Blanche.
White River, see Neosho River.
White Rock Creek, expedition camps on, 44.
Wilkinson, General James, rôle in Pike's explorations, discussed, xiii-xvii.
Wilkinson, Lieut. James B., son of General Wilkinson, 5; illness, 41-42; party lost, 58-59; descends Arkansas, 62-63.
Wind, The, see Tutasuggy.
Wollstoncraft, Capt. Charles, welcomes Pike, 225.
XAXALES, expedition passes, 162.
YELLOWSTONE (Pierre Jaun) River, supposed discovery of source, 97.
Youngar River, see Niangua River.
ZERBIN, Dr. ———, attends reception, 209; career sketched, 211-12.
Zuloaga, Don Manuel, meets Pike, 174; entertains, 179.



